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ABSTRACT

The History section of the Proceedings contains the following 13 papers: "The Big, Not-So-Bad, Wolf: Cultivating a New Media Image" (Richard Gross); "The Forgotten Battles: Congressional Hearings on Television Violence in the 1950s" (Keisha L. Hoerrner); "President Nixon's China Initiative: A Publicly Prepared Surprise" (Zixue Tai); "Passion and Reason: Mississippi Newspaper Writings of the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861" (Nancy McKenzie Dupont); "Ruth Gruber, Arctic Journalist, Carves a Northwest Passage through the Ice of the Red Scare, with Coverage of Alaska and Soviet Russia" (Beverly G. Merrick); "Ambivalent Colleagues of the Kansas Black Press: B. K. Bruce and S. W. Jones, 1890-1898" (Aleen J. Ratzlaff); "The Naked Truth: Gender, Race, and Nudity in 'Life', 1937" (Dolores Flamiano); "Sex Could Sell a Lot of Soap: Popular Formulas of Magazine Advertisements, 1920-1929" (Juliann Sivulka); "What Is a Fish Among Friends? Victorian Editorial Cartoonists Mock a Two Century Old Border Dispute" (David R. Spencer); "Launching the Radio Church, 1921-1940" (Tona J. Hangen); "In Search of African-American Identity: A Comparison of the Early Black Press with the Oral Tradition" (Bill Anderson); "Exotic Americana: The French-Language Magazines of Nineteenth Century New Orleans" (Sam G. Riley); and "Peggy Charren: Bohemian Activist" (Naeemah Clark). (RS)

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History

The Big, Not-So-Bad, Wolf:
Cultivating A New Media Image

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Abstract

The author examines historical literature regarding the wolf's negative image in Europe and America. Using the cultivation theory of media effects, which considers *exposures* over *time*, the author examines recent periodical writing about the wolf. The author discusses the more favorable recent print media imagery, particularly in most areas where wolves were reintroduced. The author concludes that continued favorable imagery may cultivate a more balanced view of the animal vis-a-vis humankind.

Introduction

He's mad that trusts in the tameness of the wolf.
William Shakespeare, King Lear, Act III

Historically, the wolf has not enjoyed good press. Perceived as a competitor, humankind has systematically vilified and attempted to eradicate *canis lupis* and its relatives. That eradication has been achieved in most portions of the inhabited world. The earth's most successful predator, humankind, has in the view of many paid a high price for the successful campaign against the wolf: alteration of a biological, social and psychological milieu of which the wolf is a primal component.[1]

Negative literary and media representations of the wolf dating from biblical times persist to this day. This paper will examine some of those representations, seek to offer some understanding of possible reasons for the negative stereotype of the wolf, and consider how the media may be playing a significant role in cultivating changes in that negative stereotype.

Humans and wolves: a primitive bond

Humans and wolves evolved in close geographic proximity throughout Asia, Europe and North America.[2] Wolves and humans initially shared a respectful and cooperative relationship as evidenced by the modern-day human relationship with the domestic dog. There is a striking genetic similarity between "man's best friend" and his most hated predator. Ethologists[3] believe the lone difference is neoteny: the persistence in dogs of infant-like dependence lasting into maturity.[4] The domestic dog is believed to have evolved from a smaller, possibly extinct, subspecies of wolf. Anthropologic evidence suggests that domestication began about 12,000 years ago in the Near East.[5]

Offered a convenient supply of food and a more favorable chance of survival in exchange for its wildness, the domestic dog spread rapidly. It made its way in North America about 8,400 years ago according to Mech, spreading as far south as present day Idaho and Montana.[6] Its lack of "wildness" has served the dog well. Today, domestic dogs are ubiquitous throughout the world, numbering in the billions. Its ancestor the wolf has been all but eliminated.

In North America, wolves formerly ranged everywhere north of Mexico City into Alaska and the Arctic to about 380 miles south of the North Pole.[7] Today, wolves are found in significant numbers throughout the less populated western provinces of Canada (about 58,000 mostly "gray" or timberwolves) and Alaska (about 12,000), according to the most recent Federal reports. Also in the United States, smaller populations exist in northern Minnesota, northern Wisconsin, Isle Royale and the upper Peninsula of Michigan, and portions of the Intermountain West.[8] Reintroduction has been undertaken by the Federal government in Central Idaho, North Carolina and Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming. Spontaneous rehabitation has occurred in Montana and Maine, and has been reported in the Desert Southwest.[9]

The evolution of the wolf "problem"

The rupture in the mutually tolerant relationship between humans and wolves is thought to have occurred about the same time as the appearance of the domestic dog. This is believed to have originated in Asia, perhaps in either the Lake Baikal region of Siberia or along the plain of the Ganges River, in what is today India.[10]

The reason for the souring of the human-wolf relationship is food. When northern glaciers retreated, the resulting deglaciation occurred at the same time as a global weather phenomenon known as the neothermal, a period of rapid warming.[11] During the neothermal, worldwide temperatures rose an average of approximately five degrees over a period of 5,000 years. This resulted in the rise of the oceans above the coastal continental shelves. For coastal peoples, this created an abundance of accessible shellfish and fish, both of which became staple foods. For inland peoples, the glacial retreat left an abundance of arable land rich with the nutrients of the billions of decomposed sea creatures. This, in turn, led to an explosion of growth in grasses and forests, forage for huge herds of large hoofed animals like buffalo in Asia and bison in North America.

Humans and wolves evolved together as predatory hunters. Moreover, they favored the same food: fresh meat from large hoofed animals. Humans supplemented their meat with hominy (corn). Wolves, being pure carnivores, supplemented large game with smaller animals like rabbits and rodents.

With climate now favorable to permanent farming, humans began to establish permanent settlements. Civilization prospered. Civilization brings problems as well as possibilities. Nomadic hunting was no longer as necessary, but preserving killed game was a problem. One form of "preservation" practiced worldwide is ranching: the herding together and penning up of food animals until they are slaughtered. This became a practice that was useful to humans and, in times when hunting was unsuccessful, convenient for wolves.

The human species was enormously successful. However, the spread of civilization resulted in the elimination of large game animals by humans and their substitution with domesticated food animals. The respect bred between two species mutually hunting the same prey deteriorated into competition in good times for the same food source and attacks by wolves during bad times on humans' domesticated food animals, notably sheep and cattle.

The wolf in early literature and media: an historical overview

There's a whining at the threshold –
There's a scratching at the floor –
To work! To work! In Heaven's name!
The wolf is at the door!
Charlotte Perkins Gilman
"The Wolf at the Door," 1893

It is difficult to determine when media depictions of the wolf first occur, since it is likely they were oral depictions heard around the hunters' campfire, ancient versions of modern-day "fisherman's tales."[12] If these oral tales were cautionary, they must also have been respectful. The folklore of native peoples throughout North America contain numerous references to the wolf and the high regard as a hunter in which it is held.

In Native American mythology, the wolf was guardian of the east, one of the four cardinal divisions of the world. The wolf's role varied among tribes, depending upon whether the tribe was one of farmers or of hunters. Among farming tribes, the gods were those of the harvest and were usually agricultural representations. However, among hunting tribes, Lyon writes, "the wolf played the greater mythic religious role because the wolf himself was a great hunter, not a great farmer."[13] The wolf is often a totem animal, one of the creatures whose spirit dwells in the people who are members of its clan. Totem animals are often successful, respected hunters, the eagle and the bear among them.

Early recorded references to the wolf are contained in The Bible. Epigrammatic passages like Isaih 11:6-9, "...the wolf shall also dwell with the lamb" make it clear that even thousands of years ago, the Biblical lamb was a symbol of peace and gentility, the wolf one of ferocity. If one accepts the belief that the Bible exercised a great effect on the attitudes and thought of Europeans, then this Biblical depiction of the wolf's ferocity may have been influential in cultivating a view of the wolf as the *archetype* of evil. Regarding the concept of the archetype, Carl Jung writes:

> The concept of the archetype is derived from the repeated observation that, for instance, myths and fairytales of world literature contain definite motifs which crop up everywhere. (These motifs) impress, influence and fascinate us, They have their origin in the archetype, which in itself is an irrepresentable, unconscious, pre-existent form that seems to be part of the inherited structure of the psyche....[14]

Perhaps the image of the wolf as the archetypal predator is more *inculcated* than *inherited*. The image of the wolf as a wild and sometimes evil creature is widely, if not universally, held. Some of our most common references to the wolf make this clear. Mythological Romulus and Remus, the twin sons of the war-god Mars, were raised by wild wolves and grew to found the mighty Roman Empire.[15] In the Greek fables of Aesop and in Latin verse, the wolf is portrayed as evil. In the plays of William Shakespeare, *canis lupus* is a ravenous predator and a sociopathic foe of humankind, often the symbol of corrupt political figures and a cruel world.[16]

Our language is filled with centuries of accumulated pejorative references. In the dictionary, the wolf is portrayed as "ravenous, predatory and fierce;" to eat voraciously is to "wolf down" one's food; threatening poverty is "the wolf at the door;" a man given to overactively pursuing women is labeled "a wolf;" an imposter is "a wolf in sheep's clothing."[17]

For most people, their basis of "knowledge" about the wolf is neither firsthand, nor authoritative; it is derived from myths, folklore and fairy tales. Most preliterate societies do not clearly delineate among these types. The Nordic languages have only one word for these types: *saga*. In all cultures, sagas are symbolic and instructive.[18]

Christian, capitalist Europe found considerable social value in fairy tales such as *The Three Little Pigs*, the earliest known versions of which were published in London in 1843.[19] For the reader who does not recall the lesson of the tale, it is this: reality is hard work, pleasure a temporal illusion. This is, of course, the religious, social and economic cornerstone of the capitalist economy that evolved in Europe during the 17th and 18th Centuries.[20]

A more sophisticated understanding of the ambivalent nature of the wolf is brought to us in *Little Red Riding Hood*, the original name of which is *Little Red Cap*. This tale is arguably the most widely recognized depiction of the wolf in the Eurocentric world. Bruno Bettelheim writes of it:

> This tale is universally loved because, although she is virtuous, she is tempted; and because her fate tells us that trusting everybody's good intentions, which seems so nice, is really leaving oneself open to pitfalls. If there were not something in us that likes the big, bad wolf, he would have no power over us. Therefore, it is important to understand his nature, but even more important to learn what makes him attractive to us. Appealing as naivete is, it is dangerous to remain naive all of one's life. But the wolf is not just the male seducer, he also represents all the asocial, animalistic tendencies within ourselves.[21]

The mass printing and circulation of tales such as *The Three Little Pigs* and *Little Red Riding Hood* may be responsible for cultivating this negative perception of the wolf among mass audiences in Europe and America.

European-bred images of the wolf crossed the Atlantic to America. In the rugged New World, the wolf was not a mythic creature, but a predacious threat to early colonists in the settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. Young recounts:

> In 1609, nine vessels were dispatched from England to Jamestown with more than 500 immigrants, and with horses, cattle, sheep and swine, all of which soon made themselves entirely at home in the new country.
>
> Within a few years thereafter the James River settlements had become fairly supplied with all kinds of livestock, although the wolves continued to cause much trouble among the sheep.[22]

George Washington and Thomas Jefferson also took note of the "wolf problem" in America. In a December, 1788 letter to Arthur Young in London, Washington wrote from Mount Vernon:

> I cannot help thinking that increasing and improving our herd of sheep would be one of the most profitable speculations we could undertake...where we are sufficiently distant from the frontiers not to be troubled with wolves or other wild vermin.[23]

Jefferson, also a farmer and breeder of livestock, noted that "wolves and dogs of early middle and upper Virginia were great obstacles to the multiplication of sheep."[24]

Accounts by other notables affirm that the wolf was a source of livestock predation throughout the newly settled portions of America. Journeying up the Missouri River in 1843, John James Audubon observed:

> On our way up that extraordinary stream we first heard of wolves being troublesome to the farmers who own sheep, calves, young colts, or any other stock on which these ravenous beasts feed, at Jefferson City, the seat of government of the State of Missouri.[25]

As settlers moved westward, so too did the "wolf problem." Writing in 1843, Lansford Warren Hastings wrote in *The Emigrant Guide to Oregon and California*:

> Wolves are very numerous in all parts of The Far West, among which are the black, gray and the prairie wolves, the latter of which are very small, but are much the most numerous and troublesome. The cause of there being such an abundance of all the different kinds of wolves is perhaps, that they are never killed either by Mexicans or foreigners. They do not kill them because they are completely worthless, and because the people in that country have not a superabundance of ammunition.[26]

While the wolf that was hated was archetypally negative, the *real* wolf paid a price for its imagined evil. In Europe, wolves were eradicated as farming and sheep herding spread. As North Americans moved across the diminishing frontier, wild animals were either killed or their habitat disrupted. In western North America, that wild game served as the lone food source for the wolf.

The absence of wild prey forced the wolf to turn to domestic livestock killing for survival. Initially, sheep and cattle predation by wolves was not a great problem. Ranchers in the southwest raised longhorn cattle, a tough breed capable of self-defense against the smaller Mexican species of wolf. As less aggressive shorthorn cattle became more marketable, they replaced the longhorn variety as the preferred stock. At the same time, sheep spread throughout the southwest.[27]

A similar situation developed in the Northern Plains, with two differences. While the wolf of the southwest was the small Mexican wolf, the larger gray wolf had migrated down from Canada to the Great Plains. The second difference was the reason the gray wolf had migrated hundreds of miles south of its home: the great buffalo herds. In Colorado and the Wyoming Territory, the buffalo became the gray wolf's chief food source. Nineteenth century mammologist J.A. Allen wrote that, next to Native American hunters, "wolves were the greatest scourge of the buffaloes, and had no small degree of influence in effecting their decrease."[28]

By the mid-Nineteenth Century, the two great buffalo herds began to vanish, concurrent with the westward advance of settlement and the closing of the frontier. Some historians claim the decimation of the buffalo was encouraged by the Federal government to deprive Native Americans food and clothing. This may be true, but Native Americans also participated in the slaughter.[29] One incident was reported by the painter George Catlin in 1832 at Fort Pierre, South Dakota. There, Catlin witnessed as a band of Sioux arrived with "fourteen hundred fresh buffalo tongues," which, along with buffalo hide robes, had become a novelty in the East. The Sioux, Catlin wrote, traded the buffalo tongues for "some watered-down whiskey."[30]

Buffalo hunters took to the Great Plains in great numbers. As many as 300 buffalo were reportedly killed each day. Buffalo Bill Cody claimed to have killed 4,280 buffalo during one 18-month period of the 1860s, a claim that gave rise to his nickname.[31] The bison herd south of Wyoming was all but eradicated by 1875; the northern herd suffered a similar fate within another decade. The future of the wolf was tied directly to that of the buffalo. Because the buffalo were almost gone now, wolves necessarily turned to hunting sheep and cattle. The wolf became the chief living enemy of cattlemen and sheepherders.

With the frontier and the buffalo now all but gone, the seemingly limitless grazing lands of the West now fattened the cattle that helped feed the 40 percent of Americans in the northeast and 20 percent in the West who now lived in cities. In Wyoming territory, cattle numbered fewer than 10,000 in 1870. The territory was home to two million head of cattle by 1875. From Texas west to Nevada and north to the Canadian border, twenty million cattle now inhabited the West.[32]

Cattle predation by wolves became common. In Montana, cattlemen lost about five percent of their herds to wolves each year.[33] Initially, cattlemen accepted the loss of some cattle to wolves; five percent was less than what was lost to theft and disease. In 1885, an oversupply of cattle resulted in a sharp decline in price. Cattle and sheep ranchers crowded unsold animals onto overgrazed land. Drought struck in the summer of 1886. The following winter of 1887 was the worst recorded last century in the West. That spring, ranchers reported losses as high as 90 percent following the winter one rancher at the time referred to as "simple murder."[34]

The stock owners who survived cut down on the numbers in their herds and diversified into sheep and horses. Wolf predation was no longer tolerated. The hunter became the hunted. Ranchers used the political power of their numbers to elect representatives who enacted bounty laws. Colorado enacted a wolf bounty in 1869, Wyoming in 1875, the Dakotas in 1881 and Montana in 1883. Bounties for each dead wolf ranged from fifty cents to two dollars.[35] To preserve the pelt, wolves were poisoned by filling the open belly of a dead buffalo or elk with strychnine.[36]

There is no accurate estimate of the number of wolves that died in this manner, but they were effectively eradicated in most states. In 1915, the Federal government began a wolf extermination program on lands under its jurisdiction. Between 1915 and 1942, an estimated 24,132 wolves were destroyed in the program, according to Lopez.[37]

Programs enacted to exterminate wolves not only eliminated a pest, they exerted dominion by settlers over both wolves and the original human inhabitants of the West:

> Wolves and Indians were exterminated when they ate the settlers livestock, but there was nothing left to eat since their natural prey had been eradicated to make room for the domestic stock...the overriding motive was conquest, which is the stamp of modern man as it was of our primitive hunter ancestors.[38]

It was not just in the geographical American West, that is the land west of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, where wolves and native peoples were eradicated. This occurred throughout America. One theory often used to explain this phenomenon and the so-called peculiarly "American Character" which resulted is The Turner Thesis, advanced in 1893 by Frederick Jackson Turner. That thesis, simply stated, claims "the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development."[39]

In Turner's view, all free land was at one time the mythical Frontier, the land of which was eventually settled. This settling asserted white settlers dominion over the land and its human and animal inhabitants, and led to the development of a distinct American persona. America, according to The Turner Thesis, consisted of a receding series of western frontiers, each conquered successively, that conquest demonstrating "the true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West."[40]

Critics have attempted to bury The Turner Thesis since it was first advanced. Louis M. Hacker said The Turner Thesis "is not so much proved as it is continually reiterated."[41] Hacker offers an alternative economic and social viewpoint:

> Only by a study of the origins and growth of American capitalism and imperialism can we obtain insight into the nature and complexity of the problems confronting us today. And I am prepared to submit that perhaps the chief reason for the absence of this proper understanding was the futile hunt for a unique "American spirit...."[42]

Hacker's eloquent critique was bolstered by that of George Wilson Pierson, who concludes his critique of Turner with the passage: "In what it proposes, the frontier hypothesis needs painstaking revision. By what it fails to mention, the theory today disqualifies itself as an adequate guide to American development."[43]

The counterattack on The Turner Thesis was too late for the wolf, as it was for Native Americans. One cannot know if The Turner Thesis was instrumental in the Federal Government's 1915 decision to exterminate wolves from all Federal land. By the time the program was declared a "success" by the U.S. Biological Survey and ended in 1942, all species of wolves had effectively been eliminated from American territory south of Canada.

A Theoretically Based Methodology

Who's Afraid of the Big, Bad Wolf?
Song Title, Walt Disney's "Three Little Pigs," 1933

Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?
Stageplay title, Edward Franklin Albee, 1962

"Cultivating" a more ambivalent image of the wolf

The "real" wolf is a creature that is an important, but not altogether benevolent, part of the ecology of the human world. *Canis lupus* is both partner and predator. However, as we have seen, a near-completely negative image of the wolf has been cultivated in all forms of media well into the Nineteenth Century: "sacred" texts, letters, journals, sagas and books.

If it is possible for media messages to craft a negative image of the wolf, is it equally possible for such messages to cultivate a more positive image? The choice of the word "cultivate" in this context is deliberate. The Cultivation Theory of media effects was first advanced in 1967-68 by George Gerbner and his colleagues at the Annenberg School of Communications as part of the Cultural Indicators Project study undertaken for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.[44]

Often misunderstood as a theory simply linking television viewing with the actual incidence of violent crimes, Cultivation Theory is much broader. It states in essence that repeated exposure to media messages over time *cultivates* an operative view of the world that is "distorted, sensationalized and gore-filled."[45]

The key variables are *exposures* and *time*. While the work of Gerbner and his colleagues is limited to the media effects of television, Cultivation Theory does not exclude the possibility of cultivation effects from other media such as print.

Cultivation Theory guides the central thesis of this paper's media analysis:

> *The volume of positive print media coverage of the wolf has expanded to such an extent as to be able to cultivate a positive image of the wolf.*

The analysis of media articles and coverage about the wolf began with several hypotheses:

1) Because of the increase in the number of national periodicals with an "ecofriendly" tone, the nature of more recent periodical articles will be more sympathetic toward the "plight" of the wolf than will older periodical articles;
2) the wolf will be more favorably covered by print media and audiences farther away geographically from the wolf's natural or reintroduced habitat;
3) the wolf will be more broadly covered, however, by print media closer to that habitat because it is an issue of true local concern;
4) the sum total of these factors may be the cultivation of a more positive image for the wolf.

Determining cultivation

Cultivation occurs over time.[46] Presumably, a negative image acquired over time will require time to be improved. Because of this, measurement of the content and distribution of articles and news reports examined for this study concentrates on print media coverage before 1915 and after 1942. This, the reader will recall, was the period during which the United States Biological Survey conducted its extermination program against the wolf.

The rationale for this choice of time periods is that the wolf's negative image can be said to have peaked by 1915, resulting in the Federal campaign of eradication. During the 30-year period after the termination of the program in 1942, the wolf's image had already undergone enough repair that the gray wolf was included among those species listed in the Federal Endangered Species Act of 1973 for which a program of reintroduction was drawn up and eventually enacted.[47] In instances where publications began later in time than 1942, where there were significant articles or where there was an insufficient number of articles to examine, the year chosen as the "post" was 1973, the year the ESA was enacted.

For the purposes of efficiency, this portion of the study concentrates on periodical articles. Recent periodical articles are both accessible and manageable.

Data Analysis

Between January 1, 1790 and October 1, 1998, the wolf was the principle topic of 204 general interest periodical articles (excluding purely scientific articles) indexed in Periodical Abstracts. Of these 204, a total of 100 or 49 percent were articles published before 1942. The remaining 104 articles, 51 percent, were published in periodicals between 1942 and 1998.

This can be narrowed even more meaningfully. In the 25-year period from 1973 to 1998, 63 of the 204 articles were published. This means that 31 percent of the periodical articles were published in only 12 percent of the time period examined. This is a highly significant indication of periodical interest in the topic of wolves following passage of the Endangered Species Act of 1973.

During this quarter-century period, there was an explosion of new periodicals in the environmental field. The 1998 Ulrich Directory of International Periodicals lists over 35 pages, approximately 1,375 titles, of periodicals in the "environment" category. By way of contrast, Poole's Index lists only 54 indexed titles at the turn of the century.

Since the first Earth Day in 1972, there has been an explosion of media interest in "the environment." What is the nature of this expanded coverage concerning the wolf as compared with pre-1915 articles? To gain some insight into this, articles published in the following periodicals were examined. They were chosen because they were broadly popular (*Newsweek, Time*), leading non-fiction publications with long publishing histories (*Harper's New Monthly*, now *Harper's*), or leading publications in nature-related non-fiction (*National Geographic, Sierra, Outside*, etc.):

Pre-1915:	*Blackwood's Magazine* *Harper's New Monthly* (now *Harper's*) *Littell's Living Age* *National Geographic*
Post-1973:	*Blackwood's Magazine* *Harper's* *National Geographic* *Newsweek* *Outside* *Sierra* *Time*

The disproportionate number of post-1973 magazines reflects both the growth in the number of ecofriendly publications (*Outside, Sierra*) and the fact that the national news weekly magazines *Newsweek* and *Time* were not published prior to 1915. Their recent coverage and constituencies, however, are significant for the purposes of this study.

Articles published in *Littell's Living Age* of Boston and *Blackwood's* of Edinburgh, Scotland were remarkably similar. Those published before 1915 (3) and after 1973 (5, all *Blackwood's*) all are descriptions of wolf hunts. In England and Scotland, wolf-hunting was at one time a "gentlemen's pursuit" similar to the fox hunts of the elite class, but with a more gruesome ending. These magazines appeal(ed) to audiences interested in this activity.

The number of articles on the wolf published in *National Geographic* were fewer than might be expected. Reflecting the general lack of scientific knowledge about the wolf, even by the beginning of this century, *National Geographic* published only one article concerning wolves before 1915. It published three between 1973 and 1998, and another three during the period 1915-1973.

This lack of the sheer *number* of articles may reflect *National Geographic's* more "scientific" approach to the content of articles on such topics, or it may be that the scarcity of wolves made it difficult to obtain the photographic quality for which *National Geographic* is known. Despite the paucity in the number of articles, there were still three times as many published after 1973 than before 1915. *National Geographic* began publication in 1886.

Interesting, the authors who most frequently appear are Stanley Paul Young (two articles) and L. David Mech (three articles). Young and Mech are the past and present "deans" of wolf science over the last two generations.

The titles of the articles in *National Geographic* reflect their content. The pre-1915 article is simply entitled "Wolves." The post-1973 articles reflect a more sympathetic tone: "Where Can the Wolf Survive?", "A North Woods Park Primeval," and "At Home With the Arctic Wolf."[48]

In keeping with its high standards, the post-1973 *National Geographic* articles are lavishly photographed. Also notable is the length of the articles: the page count devoted to wolves by *National Geographic* before 1915 is three; after 1973, the wolf is given 62 pages with photography, more than 20 times as many pages.

Reflecting a new point of view about the wolf, Mech writes in "Where Can the Wolf Survive?":

> Fortunately the world is awakening to its environmental problems, and the old myths about the wolf are being replaced by scientifically established facts.[49]

Also indicative of this new mood of sympathy for the wolf are articles published in the magazines *Sierra*, the member publication of The Sierra Club founded by naturalist John Muir, and *Outside*, a Seattle-based magazine launched in 1985. *Sierra* published five articles on the wolf between 1986 and 1998. *Outside* published nine articles on the wolf in just over a decade of publication.

Particularly striking in its effect was a May, 1997 *Outside* article, "The Killing of Wolf Number Ten." The article describes the killing of number ten, the designation of the lead alpha or dominant male of the pack of gray wolves captured in Hinton, Alberta, Canada and release in 1995 into Yellowstone National Park. The reintroduction was part of the Federal program to attempt to reintroduce every species of fauna native to the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem.[50]

The article is a scathing indictment of the wolf's killer, Chad McKittrick, a Montana man portrayed by the article as a "good ole boy:"

> There is no question now. This is not a dog. Ten is wearing a radio collar imprinted with the words 'National Park Service' and 'Hinton, Alberta.' In each of the wolf's ears is a red plastic tag marked 'FWS' in white letters on one side and '10' on the other.
>
> 'This is a big fucking deal, Chad,' Steinmasel says. He is scared and revolted. 'We need to go to town and find somebody from Fish and Game and report this.'
>
> 'No,' McKittrick replies. 'I'll go to jail. I can't do time.'
>
> The two men agree that more beer is called for. They drop off one of the trucks at Steinmasel's cabin and head downhill in the other to the tiny crossroads of Belfrey, Montana, to acquire a 12-pack.[51]

A stunning graphic accompanies the story (see figure 1).

A similar tone is followed in the pages of *Sierra* in articles entitled "Still A Long Way From Home" and "Contract Killers," an article critical of the Federal Animal Damage Control Program.[52]

News coverage in *Newsweek* and *Time* is similar in that both these magazines published articles (11 and 10 post-1973 articles respectively) about the wolf in a section entitled Environment. Their coverage reflects a generally sympathetic treatment of news events such as the wolf reintroduction into Yellowstone National Park. This similar and sympathetic coverage is all the more remarkable since they both compete for the same audience: weekly newsmagazine readers. One interesting aspect of the coverage of wolves by news magazines is the use of the wolves' negative image to provoke humor. The March, 1995 issue of *Newsweek*, for example, reprints a *Dayton Daily News* cartoon using the wolf reintroduction program in Yellowstone to poke fun at the political "wolves" in Washington, D.C. (see figure 2).

Finally, *Harper's* featured only one article specifically about wolves since 1973, "Wolf Kill" by lay wolf expert Barry Lopez.[53] This article is a straightforward account of a wolfpack hunt and kill. *Harper's* predecessor, *Harper's New Monthly*, published two pre-1915 articles about wolves. The earliest, "A Chapter On Wolves" is a compendium of information about wolves around the world to the extent such information was known at the time. The second, "A Night Among Wolves" is a descriptive account of the "wolf problem" in Kentucky settlements (The issue in which the article appears is significant in that it also contains an excerpt of Charles Dickens' serialized novel, "Bleak House.").[54]

Also of interest is a story published by *Harper's* in March, 1932 entitled "Red Riding Hood and the Wolves" by R. Hernekin Baptist.[55] A play on the title of the fairy tale of the same name, it is a fiction in which a French soldier in World War I shoots and kills a "wolf," a black soldier engaged in a love affair with a young German woman. Though published during a time period not of primary interest for this analysis, the story is of interest because it demonstrates that old stereotypes of "evil" (both wolves and black men) were still very much alive even in the pages of high-brow periodicals.

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THE KILLING OF WOLF NUMBER TEN

When Chad McKittrick murdered the pride of the Yellowstone wolf reintroduction project, **he became the prey**

BY THOMAS MCNAMEE

ILLUSTRATION BY SUE COE

FIG. 1

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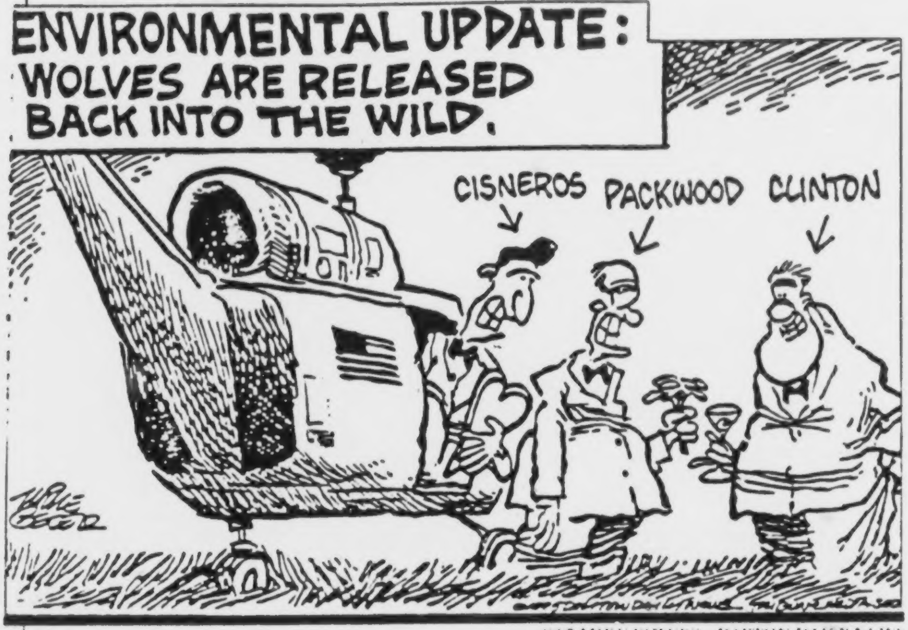
"Newsweek," March 27, 1995


ENVIRONMENTAL UPDATE:
WOLVES ARE RELEASED BACK INTO THE WILD.
CISNEROS
PACKWOOD
CLINTON
MIKE PETERS

© 1995 MIKE PETERS – DAYTON DAILY NEWS

FIG. 2

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The content of recent newspaper articles was examined in detail for this study and deemed more favorable. However, there is one most interesting feature concerning recent newspaper coverage about wolves: its volume and geographic distribution.

Table 1 shows the number of articles about wolves that appeared in four major newspapers between January 1, 1989 and October 2, 1998. Articles are tabulated as a function of all articles from each newspaper in the database for that year (the year 1989 is the first year for which the newspaper database can completely index articles in all four newspapers of interest). The newspapers chosen were the *Denver Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*.

Newspaper	**Number of Wolf Articles**	**Total in Database for This newspaper**	**Percentage: Wolf to All Articles**
Denver Post	208	192,787	.107%
Los Angeles Times	119	318,288	.037%
New York Times	132	484,680	.027%
Washington Post	71	354,490	.020%

Table 1: Number and Distribution of Wolf Articles to all Articles in Four Selected Major Newspapers for the Period January 1, 1989 to October 2, 1998

Note that the *Denver Post* has both the highest absolute number and highest proportion of coverage about the wolf. It is the smallest newspaper of the four in terms of circulation. It has the fewest number of articles of the four in the database. This suggests that newspaper coverage of the wolf "issue" is to some extent a function of geographic proximity.

At least some news is local news. Of the four newspapers, the *Denver Post* is the paper geographically closest to the areas of wolf reintroduction and rehabitation, the Rocky Mountain states of Idaho, Montana and Wyoming (Yellowstone National Park). The wolf is presumably a *Western* issue because that is the area being affected. *National* periodicals can, however, cultivate attitudes in individuals who are not Westerners and experience no direct personal effects from wolves.

Table 2, the year-by-year breakdown of the number of wolf articles appearing in each paper supports the observation that the wolf as a news peg is a Western issue.

Newspaper	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**
Denver Post	8	10	9	17	15	29	57	16	23	24
Los Angeles Times	2	9	28	7	10	10	14	6	15	18
New York Times	4	4	18	15	14	8	20	15	23	11
Washington Post	3	11	10	7	2	6	8	4	17	3

Table 2: Year-by-Year Breakdown of Number of Wolf Articles Appearing in Four Selected Major Newspapers For the Period January 1, 1989 to October 2, 1998

Note that for every year except 1991, the *Denver Post* published the largest number of wolf articles annually of any of the four newspapers. This would seem to confirm the observation that the wolf as a news item is an issue of greatest concern closest to those areas in which it is being reintroduced.

Again, however, it is important to note that periodical coverage is national, potentially cultivating attitudes among individuals who have no direct experience with, or concern about, wolves. It is possible then that *the positive attitudes cultivated by periodical articles about the wolf are no more well-informed than were the negative attitudes that have prevailed from lack of information and direct experience over the past several hundred years. Positive attitudes espoused in the articles analyzed likewise do not reflect the direct experience of the readership. But they may affect the attitudes of that readership.*

Findings and Discussion

The quantity of newspaper and periodical media coverage about the wolf has expanded dramatically since the 1973 Endangered Species Act first brought the wolf more sympathetic coverage, along with other then-endangered species such as the bald eagle and grizzly bear.

The findings of this specific study of media concerning the wolf can be summarized as follows:

1) The nature of periodical articles about the wolf examined for this study is overwhelmingly sympathetic and positive;
2) The volume of national newspaper articles about the wolf published in recent years has grown as well;
3) Geographic distribution of newspaper articles demonstrates that newspaper coverage is most likely coverage of *news events* concerning the wolf, primarily its reintroduction into the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem;
4) Finally, the volume and geographic distribution of newspaper articles demonstrates that the wolf as an "issue" remains a predominantly Western concern. In order, the *Denver Post, Los Angeles Times, New York Times* and *Washington Post* offered the greatest volume of wolf issue coverage. These are also the order of geographic proximity to Yellowstone National Park, the site of wolf reintroduction in 1995.

Studies, opinion polls and public comment on the issue of wolf reintroduction gathered by the Federal Government between 1986 and 1993 in the Western states of Idaho, Montana and Wyoming all reveal the same finding: state residents favor reintroduction in inverse proportion to their physical proximity from the site of the reintroduction. The further people are located from Yellowstone National Park, the more they tended to favor reintroduction.[56]

Whether public attitudes expressed about the wolf are an *effect* of exposure to media coverage is, like most proofs of media effects, difficult to establish. Still, the circumstantial evidence, some of which has been presented here, is compelling. It can in any case be said with certainty that there is more positive media coverage about the wolf.

Yellowstone National Park Superintendent Michael Finley claims wolves reintroduced into the Park's Lamar Valley have become Yellowstone's most popular visitor attraction. Favorable television specials and documentaries narrated by popular figures such as Robert Redford provide additional, if anecdotal, evidence of more positive media attention and the possible cultivation of a more positive attitude among the public.

Demythologizing the wolf

The wolf's unfortunate history throughout the world as a biological species, is as much a result of the uncivilized wild that the wolf represents as it is of the wolf's predatory deeds or "evil" nature. The wolf has become a metaphor for evil, a symbol, "something that represents something else by association, resemblance or convention."[57]

For the Asian hunter of prehistory, the European farmer, the American settler and the Western cattleman, the wolf is "an ideal target; it is tangible, it is blameable, and it is real."[58]

Speaking before the House Subcommittee on Resources in January, 1995 as the issue of reintroduction was debated, a rancher is quoted as saying:

> You know, it's not the wolves we're worried about, it's what the wolf represents; it's not what they'll do, it's what they mean.[59]

Said Renee Askins, executive director of the Moose, Wyoming-based Wolf Fund:

> Wolves mean changes. Wolves mean challenges to old ways of doing things. Wolves mean loss of control. Wolves aren't the cause of the changes occurring in the West anymore than the rooster's crow is the cause of the sun's rising, but they have become the means by which ranchers can voice their concerns about what's happening to them.[60]

We have become a culture that reduces complex arguments to the use of symbols to render choices black and white, to avoid choices that, like *canis lupus linnaeus*, are gray. Media can amplify the cacophony of the debate by distributing depictions of a symbol, or it can help enlighten our decisions by seeking to inform us of the real world.

Though the wolf has apparently been successfully reintroduced into the West, it has not been completely welcomed or accepted. [61]If acceptance is to occur, if we are to make room for the wolf, we must use all our cultural resources to release the wolf a second time: a release from the symbolism, bad and good, that so nearly eliminated them.[62]

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[1] Peter Steinhart, The Company of Wolves. (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 344.

[2] See R.L. Hall and H.S. Sharp, Wolf and Man: Evolution in Parallel.

[3] Ethology is the scientific study of animal behavior. Its founder was Austrian Konrad Lorenz , who pioneered the science in the 1950s by recording over several years the imprinting of behavioral characteristics among geese.

[4] Michael W. Fox, The Soul of the Wolf. (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), pp. 21 and 91.

[5] L. David Mech, The Wolf. (Garden City, NY: Museum of Natural History, 1970), p. 29.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Stanley Paul Young, The Wolf . (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1946), p. 59.

[8] Rolf Olin Peterson, Wolf Ecology and Prey Relationships on Isle Royale. (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service monograph, 1977), pp. 1-3 and Mech, The Wolf, pp. 35-37.

[9] Wolves for Yellowstone: Report to the United States Congress. (Yellowstone National Park, WY: National Park Service, 1992), vol. IV, pp. 3-22.

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[11] The following discussion of climate during the Pliocene Epoch is attributable to Van Nostrand's Scientific Encyclopedia, 5th ed. (New York: Van Nostrand, 1975) unless otherwise noted.

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[16] Ibid., pp. 252-5.

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[24] Young, The Wolf, p. 82.

[25] John James Audubon, The Quadrupeds of North America. (New York, 1851), vol. 2, p. 159.

[26] Lansford Warren Hastings, The Emigrant Guide to Oregon and California. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1932), p. 98.

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[28] Ibid., p. 107.

[29] Ibid., p. 105.

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[31] Tom McHugh, The Time of the Buffalo. (New York: Knopf, 1972), p. 283.

[32] Hampton, Wolf, p. 114.

[33] Ibid., p. 115.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 107

[36] Ibid., p. 119.

[37] Lopez, Wolves, p. 187

[38] Fox, Soul, pp. 106-7.

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[40] Ibid., p. 4.

[41] Louis M. Hacker, "Sections – Or Classes?" The Nation, 137:108-110, July 26, 1933 in Taylor, Turner Thesis, p. 53.

[42] Ibid., p. 110.

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[48] National Geographic. (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society), February, 1907:145-147; October, 1977:518-537; April, 1985:534-550; May, 1977:562-593.

[49] National Geographic, May, 1977, p. 523.

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[61] Since the reintroduction into Yellowstone in 1995, the packs have grown in number to ten, with a total population of approximately 120, including pups. Fifty-three wolves have died, some in inter-pack competition, some naturally, three by being hit by automobiles, two by shooting including Number Ten, the progenitor.

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The Forgotten Battles: Congressional Hearings on Television Violence in the 1950s

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The Forgotten Battles: Congressional Hearings on Television Violence in the 1950s

Abstract (75 words)

Although Congress has been interested in television violence for over four decades, little scholarly attention focuses on its first actions. This paper looks at the 1952, 1954, and 1955 hearings, which laid the foundation for every subsequent congressional hearing on the issue as well as legislation passed in the 1990s.

The paper utilizes historical methodology as well as legal analysis to expand the discussion beyond a simple summary of these first – yet so important – hearings.

The Forgotten Battles: Congressional Hearings on Television Violence in the 1950s

Passage of the Parental Choice in Television Programming Act of 1996[1], which mandated the v-chip, and the more recent agreement by most of the television industry to rate programming by both age-based ratings and content-based designations[2] are reminders of how the issue of television violence continues to resonate in society. This is not a new issue for researchers, who have produced thousands of studies documenting the possible link between television violence and anti-social behavior, particularly among children[3]. Similarly, this is not a new issue for Congress. It has been concerned about violent content on television since the early 1950s[4] and held its first hearing on the subject in 1952[5].

The legislature's continuing interest in television violence is intriguing for numerous reasons. It exemplifies the constant struggle between the government and the television industry for control over broadcasting content; it provides an avenue for discussion of what role the First Amendment holds in the struggle; and it helps to define the role of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the administrative agency charged with oversight of broadcast licenses and, at times, licensees. The ongoing power struggle between the industry, legislators, the courts, and the FCC is clearly delineated in congressional actions regarding television violence in the 1950s.

While congressional hearings into the matter of television violence have been discussed generally by a number of researchers,[6] as have specific legislative action in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s, little attention has been given to the earliest hearings. This article focuses on those forgotten hearings, which are the origins of congressional interest, to examine the genesis of these actions. Relying primarily on primary governmental documents such as transcripts, reports, legislation, and the Congressional Record, the article specifically explores the congressional hearings of 1952 and 1954-55 to gain insight into how legislators

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[1] Public Law 104-104 § 551 (1996).

[2] Laurie Mifflin, "Groups Strike Agreement to Add TV Ratings Specifics," *The New York Times*, 10 July 1997, sec. A, p. 12.

[3] Cynthia Cooper, *Violence on Television: Congressional Inquiry, Public Criticism, and Industry Response* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 6.

[4] E.C. Gathings, "Air Waves and Newsstands," *Congressional Record*. 82nd Cong., 1st sess., 1951, A3742.

[5] U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Subcommittee on the Federal Communications Commission. *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*. 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952.

[6] Willard Rowland, *The Politics of TV Violence: Policy Uses of Communication Research* (CA: Sage Publications, 1983.)

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originally viewed the issue and what specific actions resulted from this legislative interest. This historical analysis is undertaken under the umbrella of First Amendment implications of early congressional interest in the area of violent content on television to further illuminate the issue. Additionally, symbolic politics theory is introduced as a possible explanation for these "forgotten battles" in the 1950s.

The Battleground

After the Federal Communications Commission-imposed freezes on new television licenses in both 1941 and 1948 were lifted[7], the number of both stations and homes with sets grew quickly, making the new medium a part of eighty million American lives by the early 1950s.[8] There were nineteen million television sets in the country as early as 1952.[9] This early decade of television is generally thought of as "The Golden Years" of television.[10] The decade is remembered for "I Love Lucy" and "See It Now," not violence. Still, crime shows, action movies, and the first westerns came into American homes in the 1950s – and caused a few parents, educators, and politicians concern.

Politicians were bound to notice a new technology generating such widespread attention. They, like much of the country, had conflicting views about this new form of entertainment that was changing family leisure time, consumption of goods and services, and politics.[11] As David Halberstam noted in *The Fifties*:

> Politics, for the first time, was being brought to the nation by means of television. People now expected to *see* events, not merely read about or hear them. At the same time, the line between what happened in real life and what people saw on television began to merge; many Americans were now living far from their families, in brand-new suburbs where they barely knew their neighbors. Sometimes they felt closer to the people they watched on television than they did to their neighbors and distant families.[12]

Extreme attitudes emerged, with some viewing television as "messianic" and others "demonic." Regardless of how they felt about television personally, however, politicians were determined to play an important role in the industry's development.[13] In addition to focusing their attention on structural issues such as station ownership and content issues such as political advertising, one of the content topics receiving significant attention from legislators is the issue of violence within programming.

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[7] Christopher H. Sterling and John M. Kittross, *Stay Tuned: A Concise History of American Broadcasting. 2d ed.* (CA: Wadsworth, 1990).

[8] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. *Juvenile Delinquency (District of Columbia)*. 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 1954.

[9] David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (NY: Villard Books, 1993).

[10] Sterling and Kittross, *Stay Tuned*, 319.

[11] Rowland, *The Politics of TV Violence*, 99-100.

[12] Halberstam, *The Fifties*, 195.

Background: Congressional Interest in 1950

Radio and television content was originally condemned as an afterthought; politicians discussing the evils of the movie industry began adding broadcasting to the mix in 1950. Senator Ed Johnson (D - Colo.), while raging against the adulterous affair Ingrid Bergman had with Roberto Rossellini, asked for a Washington Times-Herald article to be printed in the Congressional Record about crime programs on radio[14]. This was the first documented mention of broadcast violence in the Record. Two days later Senator Johnson asked that an article from the Washington Post detailing the National Catholic Conference on Family Life's concern with television programs be placed in the Record as well[15]. He also asked that FCC Chairman Wayne Coy's recent speech about radio and television appear in the Record. It was actually Coy's words that first made specific reference to violence on television, although the subject was, again, treated more like an addendum than the speaker's primary point. Coy quoted a survey of television programs undertaken by the Southern California Association for Better Radio and Television that found close to one hundred murders, ten thefts, and numerous other crimes portrayed on television in one week. He noted that many citizens were concerned about this type of television content.[16]

This first mention of television violence by a member of Congress is intriguing for two reasons. Senator Johnson appeared to be using the issue of radio and television violence simply to bolster his argument for tighter controls on the movie industry. He made no specific comments on the floor of the Senate regarding television or radio. FCC Chairman Coy's comments were also illuminating, for he explicitly stated that the Federal Communications Commission could not censor broadcasting content. This was the first of many statements members of the FCC made in the 1950s about the agency's inability to interfere with program content. Coy placed the responsibility for forcing changes in content on the shoulders of the public, on concerned and vigilant citizens.

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[13] Kenneth C. Creech, *Electronic Media Law and Regulation, 2d ed.* (Boston, MA: Focal Press, 1996), 51-85.

[14] *Congressional Record*. 81st Cong., 2d sess., 14 March 1950, 3285.

[15] Ibid., 16 March 1950, 3479.

[16] Ibid, 3479-3480.

Later in the year Senator Johnson asked that another newspaper article on television violence be added to the Appendix to the Congressional Record[17]. The July 16, 1950 New York Times article "Time for a Halt – Radio and TV Carnage Defies all Reason" was a stinging rebuke of an NBC mystery show that aired on a Saturday morning, when children were more likely to be in the audience, and of crime shows in general. Senator Johnson's brief comments add no insight into his motivation to focus congressional attention on this article. Senator Johnson's action seemed to be moving Congress away from treating television as an afterthought toward focusing its attention squarely on the new medium.

It was Representative E.C. Gathings (D - Ark.), however, who decided Congress needed to take some action against television violence. On June 20, 1951, Representative Gathings told the House "many radio and television programs, as well as certain scurrilous books and comics are corrupting the minds and morals of the American people."[18] He mentioned the Southern California study of murders and crimes on television and argued that "juvenile delinquency and disregard for laws has increased in this country because of the laxity in which these problems have been dealt with."[19] Representative Gathings did not propose legislation or call for hearings or additional study at that time but demanded the first hearings two years later.[20]

The earliest years of the decade show, then, a slow but steady growth of congressional interest in violent content on television, a growth that began simply with an insertion of a published article in the Congressional Record but progressed in only two years to Representative E.C. Gathings introducing legislation mandating congressional hearings. Representative Gathings' resolution (H. Res. 278) passed unanimously on May 12, 1952[21]. A new, yet enduring, form of congressional action in the area of television violence began.

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[17] *Appendix to the Congressional Record.* 81st Cong., 2d sess., 1950, A5282.

[18] *Appendix to the Congressional Record.* 82nd Cong., 1st sess., 1951, A3742.

[19] Ibid, A3742.

[20] *Congressional Record.* 82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952, 5058.

[21] U.S. Congress. *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*, 1.

Round One: The 1952 Hearings

House Resolution 278 gave authority to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce's FCC Subcommittee to "conduct a full and complete investigation and study to determine the extent to which the radio and television programs currently available to the people of the United States contain immoral and otherwise offensive matter, or place improper emphasis on crime, violence, and corruption"[22]. The resolution also charged the subcommittee with developing recommendations to alleviate any problems it uncovered, including legislative action if necessary. In debate over HR 278 Rep. William Colmer (D - Miss.), stated the boundaries of the investigation:

> This is not an attempt on the part of the Congress or the sponsors of this measure to invoke any rigid censorship or anything of that sort; but, with the youth of the land as interested in radio and television programs as we know they are, considerable discretion should be used by those who put these programs on the air in order that the wrong results may not flow therefrom and that the impressionable youth of the country may not get the wrong concept or philosophy of life.[23]

The seven-member subcommittee, chaired by Oren Harris (D-Ark.), held public hearings in June, September, and December of 1952[24] to receive testimony from industry representatives, private citizens, and government officials.

Chairman Harris set the tone for the hearings in his opening statement when he remarked that the subcommittee would not seek to determine what constituted desirable programming and was not intent on "cleaning up" the broadcast industries.[25] Indeed, historian Willard Rowland termed the hearings "congenial."[26] He remarked, "The subcommittee members and staff handled the network representatives most gingerly, commending them for their claims of concern and their assurances of adequate self-regulation. There was none of the sharper tone that was to mark later hearings." Rowland speculated that

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[22] U.S. Congress, *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*, 1.

[23] *Congressional Record*. 82nd Cong., 2d sess., 1952, 5058.

[24] U.S. Congress, *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*.

[25] Ibid, 2. *See also* U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*.82nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1952. H. Rept. 2509.

[26] Rowland, *The Politics of TV Violence*, 100.

Chairman Harris's purchase of a twenty-five-percent interest in a Little Rock, Ark., television station at approximately the same time as the commencement of hearings might account for the "congenial" tone.[27]

Rowland's argument only explained Harris's ginger handling of industry representatives, yet a majority of the committee treated them with deference and respect. This was probably an outgrowth of the general disorganization and lack of focus for the hearings. The atmosphere was one of legislators chatting with witnesses rather than working toward a specific resolution. Some of the committee members seemed unsure of the television content they were there to investigate as evidenced from their questioning of witnesses about annoying but non-violent commercials as often as they questioned them about specific television programs. Radio content was almost totally ignored, except for an occasional question or statement concerning which shows were sponsored by tobacco or beer companies. In fact, beer sponsorship and advertising on both radio and television were prime concerns of numerous witnesses who testified about the deleterious effects of promoting alcohol to children and adults. Witnesses such as C.S. Longacre of the American Temperance Society, Elizabeth A. Smart of the Woman's Christian Temperance Movement, and Dr. Raymond Schmidt of the National Grand Lodge of the International Order of Good Templars failed to mention violent content as they focused solely on broadcasting's role in promoting alcohol consumption,[28] which was not the stated focus on the committee's investigation.

It is not surprising, then, that after thirteen days of hearings that generated almost five hundred pages of testimony, the subcommittee issued a succinct final report saying the television industry was in too great a state of flux to "pass any conclusive judgment"[29] upon it. Industry self-regulation was seen as positive, and government regulation was viewed as an interference broadcasting did not need at the moment. The network representatives who testified proudly discussed the new Television Code, and the legislators agreed that this form of self-censorship, even though it was voluntary and not every station adhered to it, would be preferable to any externally imposed censorship. Still, the subcommittee's final report left the door open to future government intervention if the industry was not serious about or successful in removing violent programming from the airwaves. The members made it clear that they believed there was too much crime and violence on television, and they encouraged public criticism if broadcasters failed to be responsive to the public interest.[30]

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[27] Rowland, *The Politics of TV Violence*, 100.

[28] U.S. Congress. *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*, 30-73.

[29] U.S. Congress, *Investigation*, H. Rept. 2509, 10.

The 1952 hearings are generally forgotten in history books,[31] probably because they lacked focus, failed to discuss specific programs with supposedly violent content, failed to generate any subsequent congressional action, and failed to produce an outspoken leader who would continue to pursue the subject in Congress. Unlike Senator Thomas Dodd, Senator John Pastore, and Senator Paul Simon -- members of Congress who would lead legislative interest in the issue of television violence in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1990s, Representative Oren Harris was not considered a staunch proponent of congressional action.

Later congressional hearings in the 1950s did not suffer from this lack of leadership, however, as Senator Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) took the reins. With Representative Harris easily forgotten, it is Kefauver who is remembered as the first congressional leader to investigate television violence.

Round Two: The 1954 Hearings

Following the publication of the 1952 report, Congress was relatively silent on the issue of television violence for more than a year. It once again became a congressional concern in December of 1953 during the hearings of a Senate subcommittee on juvenile delinquency.[32] What began as brief statements by two witnesses evolved into a full-scale probe of television violence, which laid the foundation for congressional hearings on this issue for the next forty years.

Concerned about the rise in crime rates among juveniles and the growing number of teens incarcerated, the Senate passed Resolution 89 on June 1, 1953, to establish a subcommittee to study the problem and devise solutions. No mention was made of mass media specifically within the resolution, although the subcommittee was given wide leeway to explore "causes and contributing factors" of juvenile delinquency.[33] Senator Estes Kefauver, ranking minority member on the four-member Subcommittee to

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[30] U.S. Congress. *Investigation*, H. Rept. 2509, 12.

[31] *See* Cooper, *Violence on Television*, and Robert M. Liebert and Joyce Sprafkin, *The Early Window: Effects of Television on Children and Youth. 3rd ed.* (NY: Pergamon, 1988), 60.

[32] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Judiciary. *Juvenile Delinquency*. 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 1954. S. Rept. 1064.

[33] Ibid, 1.

Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, brought media into the debate on juvenile delinquency when he questioned Dr. Leopold Wexberg, chief of the Mental Health Division of the Bureau of Disease Control in the Department of Public Health, on his belief that movies, television programs, and comic books may serve as a contributing factor to delinquency among juveniles. Even though Dr. Wexburg failed to provide a source or a cite a study providing evidence for his statement, Senator Kefauver was most intrigued.[34]

The Kefauver-Wexburg exchange coupled with a statement during the subcommittee's hearings in Denver by a private citizen, who also failed to provide any documentation or source for his belief that magazines and comic books contribute to juvenile delinquency,[35] led to the mass media being placed on a list of twelve "special areas" that were "worthy of concentrated investigation because of their effects upon juvenile delinquency."[36] Senator Robert Hendrickson (R-N.J.), chair of the subcommittee during the 83rd Congress, scheduled separate hearings on motion pictures, comic books, and television programs.[37]

Three days of public hearings on television programs were held in June and October of 1954. Before the glare of television lights and radio mikes[38], Counsel Richard Clendenen developed a new rationale for devoting the subcommittee's attention to television – hundreds of letters received from concerned citizens across the country. He stated:

> This inquiry into television, you will recall, Mr. Chairman, had its origin in the very large number of letters that the subcommittee received from parents complaining about this matter of blood and thunder on TV. The vast majority of these complaints did not relate to a specific program but rather usually fell into one of two broad categories. First of all it was felt that the amount, the total volume of television programs which featured or centered upon crime and violence was such as to

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[34] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. *Juvenile Delinquency (District of Columbia).* 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 1954, p. 396.

[35] *See* U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delingquency*, S. Rept. 1064 for further details.

[36] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency*, S. Rept. 1064, 5.

[37] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. *Juvenile Delinquency (Motion Pictures)*, *Juvenile Delinquency (Comic Books)*, and *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*. (Three separate volumes.) 83rd Cong., 2d sess., 1954.

[38] Statements from both Senator Hendrickson in 1954 and Senator Kefauver in 1955 leads one to assume that television and radio reporters covered the hearings although the record never states this as such. Senator Hendrickson says, "... the Chair, with apologies to the press, radio, and television, will declare a recess until two o'clock this afternoon." U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 209. During the 1955 hearings, Senator Kefauver tells Commissioner Frieda Hennock of the FCC, "Since this is a television hearing, the television boys would like to take some pictures of you while you are testifying." U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., 1955, 24.

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> produce, at least in the opinion of many parents, an unhealthy and delinquency-producing climate for young people. Secondly, a large number of parents also complained about what we might call a lack of choice in television viewing for children. ... he [a child] either watches a blood-and-thunder program or nothing at all.[39]

Senator Kefauver's files, however, show only a sprinkling of letters from concerned constituents in the early 1950s, and there is no reference to hundreds of letters being stored in a separate file. Senator Kefauver's files do reveal an increasing number of letters throughout the decade and into the 1960s as he continued to speak on the issue of media and violence, but those did not justify the 1954 hearings.[40] (A letter from Mrs. Hugh J. Lucas is illustrative of those appearing in Kefauver's papers. She sent him a letter in 1954 expressing her concern over television's influence on young children and attached two newspaper clips of crime stories in which the criminals said they learned their techniques for shoplifting and strangling from watching television.[41])

Senator Hendrickson chaired the special probe in 1954, promising that neither he nor the subcommittee came to the hearings with any existing biases against television or any preconceived notions that crime and violence programs did contribute to juvenile delinquency.[42] Senator Hendrickson, however, was not nearly as congenial toward the television industry as Representative Harris had been two years earlier. In fact, Senator Hendrickson allowed biased comments to slip during interchanges with witnesses including, "As I watch my grandchildren, Doctor, I wonder how they stand it [TV]."[43] Nor was Senator Hendrickson comfortable allowing the hearings to digress into seemingly unrelated topics as Harris had allowed. The 1954 hearings focused direct attention on specific programming decisions made by the television industry.

Industry representatives were, in fact, a prime target of Senator Hendrickson's hearings. After viewing selected segments of television programs that portrayed violent actions, shown in the Washington, D.C. market during hours that children were likely to be in the audience, Senator Hendrickson and the subcommittee's counsels questioned each of the fourteen industry representatives about what they programmed for children. The representatives responded by discussing numerous other subjects while failing to directly debate the legislators' contention that certain programs were unsuitable for children. Four arguments ran through the industry's testimony, regardless of the individual witness:

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[39] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 65.

[40] Estes Kefauver. Papers. University of Tennessee Library. MS. 837, Box 96, Folders 1-3.

[41] Mrs. Hugh J. Lucas. Letter written to Estes Kefauver. Kefauver Papers. University of Tennessee Library. MS. 837, Box 96, Folders 1-3.

[42] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954.

[43] Ibid, 36.

(1) interference with the First Amendment protections,

(2) research that concluded television did not affect juvenile delinquency,

(3) complexity of the issue, and

(4) positive programming presented for children.

John Hayes' testimony was illustrative of the broadcasters' reliance on the First Amendment to diminish the criticisms of the subcommittee. Hayes, president of WTOP in Washington, D.C., said, "I feel it is my duty respectfully to call to the attention of this subcommittee the fact that any congressional investigation of the content of any medium of free communication raises very profound questions. I am confident that is not the intention of these hearings, to interfere with the freedom of expression in this country."[44] Hayes and subsequent witnesses were assured that the subcommittee had no intention of censoring television, just determining if it contributed to delinquent youths.

Merle Jones, CBS-TV vice president of owned stations and general services, assured the committee he had research that said television was not a significant cause of juvenile delinquency.[45] NBC's representative, Vice President Joseph Herreman, echoed Jones' argument saying, "We are aware of no responsible scientific data or opinion which fixes television as the cause of juvenile delinquency. On the contrary, there is a decided body of opinion that television and films have no causal relationship to juvenile delinquency."[46] The industry representatives continued to refute the charge that television caused juvenile delinquency, even though the subcommittee just wanted to know if it was a contributing factor.

Not letting this "apples v. oranges" distinction of causal versus contributing factor deter them, however, Jones and company tried to throw all kinds of fruit in the basket to make the issue too complex to be explained. Jones brought up Shakespeare's plays and "Jack and the Beanstalk," arguing that if those revered stories were abstracts for a television movie, people would be concerned about the level of violence. He believed that the issue of fantasy violence having an impact on real-life violence was perplexing, and each reference to another form of fantasy violence exacerbated the problem. In other words, no one called congressional hearings on Shakespearean plays or children's literature because no one would see them as a significant cause of societal behavior. Why should a television program be any different, he argued. Jones warned the subcommittee against seeking an easy answer or designating a scapegoat just to put the issue to rest without really uncovering both the cause and the solution.[47]

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[44] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 107.

[45] Ibid, 81-82.

[46] Ibid, 182.

Robert Hinckley, vice president of ABC, also added to the complexity argument when he compared the rate of juvenile delinquency in the U.S. to Russia's rate. Playing to the "Red Scare" sentiment of the times, Hinckley said the delinquency rate in Russia was rising at an alarming rate as well. With only three television stations, though, and only 100,000 sets in the whole country, it was apparent to him that television was not causing Russia's rise in delinquency. Therefore, according to Hinckley, it obviously was not the cause of the U.S.'s problem, either. He offered no further "proof" of the inability to link television to juvenile delinquency, and no member of the subcommittee questioned his Russian example.[48]

Finally, industry representatives focused their testimony on the positive aspects of television. Al Hodge, "Captain Video," proudly testified about his "wholesome adventure program," stressing how violence and conflict were presented in "good taste." Hodge stressed that no one was killed on "Captain Video" and that the criminals were rehabilitated rather than executed.[49] Each time he was asked about a negative aspect of television, Hodge turned it around with a positive response. When all else failed, Hodge and others lauded the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters' (now the NAB, National Association of Broadcasters) voluntary Television Code. Sections were read into the record by numerous witnesses, including:

> (q) Criminality shall be presented as undesirable and unsympathetic. The condoning of crime and the treatment of the commission of crime in a frivolous, cynical, or callous manner is unacceptable. (r) The presentation of techniques of crime in such detail as to invite imitation shall be avoided. (s) The use of horror for its own sake will be

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[47] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 83, 96.

[48] Ibid, 233-234.

[49] Ibid, 130-134.

> eliminated; the use of visual or aural effects which would shock or alarm the viewer, and the detailed presentation of brutality or physical agony by sight or by sound are not permissible. (t) Law enforcement shall be upheld, and the officers of the law are to be portrayed with respect and dignity. (u) The presentation of murder or revenge as a motive for murder shall not be presented as justifiable. (v) Suicide as an acceptable solution for human problems is prohibited. (w) The exposition of sex crimes will be avoided.[50]

The code was advanced by broadcasters as the solution to problematic programming, an example of the effectiveness of self-regulation, just as it was in 1952.

On the other side of the debate, James Bennett, director of Bureau of Prisons in the Justice Department, called for greater levels of action than industry self-regulation. Bennett wanted a presidential commission to be established to study the issue and draw up a more workable code. This suggestion was actually one of the more extreme calls for government action; no witness or subcommittee member was ready to argue for governmental control over programming.[51]

Not even the commissioners of the Federal Communications Commission wanted governmental interference in broadcasting content. In one of the strongest anti-censorship statements, FCC Commissioner Rosel Hyde said he and all but one of the commissioners believed that the FCC should play no role in content decisions. The FCC statement read,

> We cannot agree with those critics of radio and television who believe, however sincerely, that the only way to secure the highest quality program service is to provide a group of Government officials with a blue pencil. We believe it would be dangerous, as well as contrary to our democratic concepts, for a few officials in Washington, be they the Federal Communications Commission or any other group, to have such power.[52]

(Interestingly, this is exactly the same wording used by then FCC Chairman Paul Walker in 1952 in his prepared statement read during the hearings.[53])

Although Commissioner Freida Hennock asked that a separate statement be placed in the hearings transcript to represent her views -- in which she called for the Commission to hold separate hearings on the issue of violent programming and to adopt "a firm policy against the future renewal of the licenses of any broadcasters who persist in failure to meet their responsibilities to the public by continuing to subject the children ... to the concentrated and unbalanced fare of violence"[54], she is the sole FCC voice arguing for some control over content for years.

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[50] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 47.

[51] Ibid, 127-128.

[52] Ibid, 279.

[53] U.S. Congress, *Investigation of Radio and Television Programs*, 465.

With no one clamoring for strong governmental action, the subcommittee did not push for any legislation following the round of hearings in 1954. The subcommittee did state a need for more research, implored the industry to hire child specialists to help screen programs, and provided advice to the industry on improvements to the Television Code.

Round Two, Part Two: The 1955 Hearings

The Republicans lost control of Congress in 1954, so when the Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency met in 1955 it had a Democratic chair, Senator Kefauver.[55] A nationally-known figure, Senator Kefauver was enjoying a "close and fruitful" relationship with the media[56] because of the popularity he received as chair of the recent Senate's Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce.[57] The organized crime hearings were significant because they were the first congressional hearings to be televised that really caught the public's attention, setting a precedent for the power of television and carrying an unknown junior senator from Tennessee into the national spotlight.[58] Senator Kefauver was later labeled "the first elected public official who really capitalized on television to advance himself politically."[59]

Senator Kefauver's background suggested additional rationales for him having a favorable attitude toward the media. During his college years at the University of Tennessee, Senator Kefauver served as the first president of the Blue Pencil Club for college editors and held the positions of associate athletic editor and, later, athletic editor of the Orange & White, the school newspaper.[60] During his congressional days he was a guest speaker at the National Association of Broadcasters' 1951 convention, where he called broadcasting a "great industry" worthy of "the gratitude of the nation."[61] Senator Kefauver even seemed to support crime programs on television, serving as the narrator for "Crime Syndicated" on three occasions.[62] So why did this apparent media supporter, who brought up the idea of a possible link between television and juvenile delinquency initially, pursue more hearings on the issue?

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[54] U.S. Congress, *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 290.

[55] Joseph Bruce Gorman, *Kefauver: A Political Biography,* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1971), 197.

[56] J. Derr, "'The Biggest Show on Earth': The Kefauver Crime Committee Hearings." *The Maryland Historian* 17(2), 1986: 19-37.

[57] Greg Lisby, "Early Television on Public Watch: Kefauver and His Crime Investigation." *Journalism Quarterly* 62(2), 1985: 236-242.

[58] *See* both Derr and Lisby articles for further information on the organized crime hearings.

[59] Edward Chester, *Radio, Television and American Politics* (NY: Sheed & Ward, 1969), 76.

One Kefauver biographer said the answer is quite simple. Senator Kefauver knew a good bandwagon to lead when he saw one. As Joseph Gorman explained, "Just as everyone had been against crime, so everyone was against juvenile delinquency."[63] Another Kefauver biographer explained, "As soon as Kefauver succeeded to the chairmanship ..., he gave indications that he hoped to turn the limping juvenile delinquency probe into a junior-grade crime investigation – and with a presidential race coming up the next year! There was no question that Kefauver was keenly aware of the publicity potential of a juvenile delinquency probe."[64] Senator Kefauver's political aspirations looked squarely toward the White House[65], so he needed all the positive national publicity he could secure.

The issue of media violence and juvenile delinquency provided him with a topic of national concern – albeit one he worked to create. A November 1954 Gallup poll, taken only months after the hearings on media and juvenile delinquency, asking whether comic books and television programs contributed to juvenile delinquency showed seventy percent of the country placing some blame on both forms of media for teen-age problems.[66] Senator Kefauver held hearings and issued reports in 1955 on television and comics as well as motion pictures. And the tone of the hearings was distinct from those held in 1954.

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[60] Charles Fontenay, *Estes Kefauver: A Biography* (TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1980), 31.

[61] Derr, "The Biggest Show", 24.

[62] Lisby, "Early Television," 238.

[63] Gorman, *Kefauver*, 198.

[64] Fortenay, *Estes Kefauver*, 318.

[65] *See* Jack Anderson and Frank Blumenthal, *The Kefauver Story* (NY: The Dial Press, 1956) and Gorman, *Kefauver*, 197.

[66] George Gallup, "The Gallup Poll: Air Waves Share Blame," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, 21 November 1954.

For two days in April of 1955 Chairman Kefauver enjoyed the publicity television, radio, and print reporters gave him while covering the next round of hearings on television and delinquency. Senator Kefauver opened the hearings pledging objectivity and promising testimony from leading social scientists. He placed twenty letters in the record during his opening statement, however, from parents and organizations concerned about television's role in children's lives. No letters were supportive of the industry.[67]

Scientific research was the main thrust of the testimony as psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists gave their expert opinions on the relationship between television and juvenile delinquency. Dr. Eleanor Maccoby, a child psychologist at Harvard, detailed the results of her study on why children watch television and what activities children are not engaging in during the three hours she calculated that they were watching. Would children's cognitive skills suffer as a result of not reading? Would their imagination be stifled if they were not engaging in fantasy play? She did not have the answers but voiced these questions as concerns. While critical of television, she was not a strong proponent of government intervention, however.[68] She actually avoided Senator Kefauver's attempts to have her call for governmental action based on her research findings with the skill of a television industry executive.

Dr. Ralph Banay, a research psychiatrist at Columbia who was also affiliated with the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and the Attorney General's Office, might have been a stronger proponent of government intervention based on his highly critical attitude toward television content, but he was never asked about what role the government should play in regulating violence. Instead, Senator Kefauver questioned Dr. Banay about his weeklong survey of violent actions within television programs in the Washington, D.C. market – which included “Hopalong Cassidy” and “Buffalo Bill, Jr.”; his affiliation with professional associations within his field; his direct work with juvenile delinquents; and his personal attitude toward television. Kefauver asked him, "Then your testimony is that overall you think the violent TV programs or some of our TV programs, [sic] do increase juvenile delinquency?" Dr. Banay replied, "Yes, I believe so."[69] Dr. Banay offered no evidence of correlations, experiments with children, or even systematic study of children's behavior, however.

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[67] U.S. Congress. *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1955, 1-3.

[68] Ibid, 6, 17.

Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld, who testified the following day, was the only academic who had published extensive media research, especially in the area of media effects. Dr. Lazarsfeld was, of course, the eminent sociologist at Columbia who pioneered media research. Rather than actually discussing possible effects of television on children, Dr. Lazarsfeld focused on why so little media research had been conducted, how difficult it was to secure funding, and how little was really known about children and television. He left the subcommittee with few definitive answers.[70]

Industry officials were called to testify in 1955 as well, many of whom came before the subcommittee in 1954, and they continued their four strategies developed earlier. The grave danger of infringing on First Amendment rights was discussed, contradictory research that found no relationship between television and delinquency was mentioned, the complexity of the issue was reinforced, and the positive aspects of the industry were again emphasized. Senator Kefauver responded to these strategies, as exemplified when he called Harold Fellows, president and chairman of the board of the NARTB, to task for focusing only on the positive accomplishments of the industry. Senator Kefauver remarked:

> You have not set it out in this testimony you are giving us [why you are disagreeing about television having negative effects on children], and I think you would be rendering a better public service if you would not let your television stations and industry feel that this [sic] is just nothing to this. But if you would set forth the fact that 7 out of 10 parents, many great psychiatrists and child students, I mean students of children's affairs, feel that as to some children there is a connection and an adverse effect.[71]

Fellows assured the assembled senators that the industry was made aware of all research, good or bad, and all public concerns through the NARTB and other channels. He then continued his testimony, focusing on the positive impact of the Television Code.[72]

Because of the vastly differing testimony, historians disagree on the actual results of the subcommittee's probe. While Joseph Gorman argued that no definite relationship between television and juvenile delinquency was established[73], Mary Ann Guitar said that the link had been made.[74] The subcommittee itself fell somewhere in between, as evidenced by the language of its final report.[75] While stating it was not aware of a "comprehensive, conclusive study" on the effects of television on children, the subcommittee "believe[d] that television crime programs are ... much more injurious to children and young people than motion pictures, radio, or comic books."[76] The committee called for more research, vigilance on the part of the public in criticizing the industry whenever necessary, collective responsibility on the part of every member of the industry, and greater responsibility on the part of the Federal Communications Commission to use program content as a consideration when stations came up for license renewal.

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[69] U.S. Congress. *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1955, 83.

[70] Ibid, 87-99.

[71] Ibid, 69.

[72] Ibid, 70.

A letter between subcommittee counsels showed Senator Kefauver's team worked on ways to force the FCC to accept more control over television content. They considered stating in the 1955 report that "the subcommittee is of the opinion that the Federal Communications Commission is not fully exercising the powers presently vested in it to protect the public interest, and especially to protect the Nation's [sic] children from the multitude of programs dealing with crime and violence."[77] While acknowledging that only one member of the FCC advocated an increased role for the agency (Commissioner Hennock continued to support greater FCC control over content), the letter listed several recommendations the subcommittee could make to enlarge the commission's activities. Only the appeal to use content as one of the determining factors for license renewal actually made it into the final report.

The establishment of a presidential commission to oversee the systematic study of the issue and report annually to both Congress and the president and the added responsibilities for the FCC were the only two subcommittee recommendations that called for government action.[78] Neither recommendation became law.

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[73] Gorman, *Kefauver*, 198.

[74] Mary Alice Guitar, "TV Violence – The Kids React," in *Violence and the Mass Media*, ed. Otto Larsen (NY: Harper & Row, 1968) 47-50.

[75] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary. *Television and Juvenile Delinquency*. 84th Cong., 2d sess., 1956. S. Rept. 1466.

[76] Ibid, 31.

[77] Richard Clendenen. Letter to Mr. Langdon West. Kefauver Papers. University of Tennessee Library. MS 837, Box 72, Senate Subcommittee Folder.

[78] U.S. Congress, *Television and Juvenile Delinquency*, S. Rept. 1466, 49, 57.

The Aftermath

After weeks of hearings spread over the first half of the 1950s, Congress had succeeded in producing over one thousand pages discussing the possibility of a relationship between television and juvenile delinquency, but the question remained regarding what had actually been accomplished. Many consequences resulted from the hearings. On a personal level, Senator Kefauver increased his popularity, one of the many reasons he became Adlai Stevenson's vice presidential running mate in 1956 after contesting Stevenson for the top spot on the Democratic ticket.[79] Senator Kefauver would serve as a role model for future congressmen who sought to further their careers and increase their popularity by criticizing the television industry for its violent programming. Senator Paul Simon's (D- Ill.) focus on television violence in the late 1980s while also seeking the Democratic presidential nomination is a contemporary example.

On a more macro level, the 1950s hearings created a relationship between the broadcast industry and government that remained static for almost four decades: first, the government castigated the industry for its deplorable programming, then the industry took its verbal punishment and promised to do better, followed by the government staying out of the industry's business – at least in terms of content. This pattern was a "win-win" situation for both parties. The politicians scored points with their constituents for showing concern for children and outrage at any factor that contributed to crime and violence. The industry kept the government out of its daily affairs, allowing it to program the shows that would generate the greatest audience and result in more revenue. This is not to say that there were not members of Congress genuinely concerned about children and television or that the industry held no concern, but the general pattern of congressional public relations moves and industry sidesteps is quite obvious.

The 1950s hearings had another lasting effect. Almost every concern that researchers, activists, and politicians have raised in the area of television violence can be found in the testimonies and reports from 1952 and 1954-55. For example, a 1954 witness raised the issue of program sponsors linking the selling of their products to the entertainment provided in the show and suggested no advertising during children's programs. Those issues would be debated twenty years later by Action for Children's Television, the Federal Trade Commission, and the industry.[80] Witnesses also raised concerns about the effects television had on a child's cognitive skills, reading skills, and level of passivity. These issues have remained topics of academic research for ensuing decades.[81]

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[79] Fortenay, *Estes Kefauver*, 265, 279.

Dr. Ralph Banay asserted that emotionally disturbed children would be affected by television violence more than stable children during his 1955 testimony. Almost twenty years later the Surgeon General's Report substantiated his belief with empirical research.[82] Future research also debunked a belief originally advanced during the 1952 hearings when the "catharsis theory," which stated that television violence served as a release for aggressive children and was therefore not harmful, was found to be lacking as a suitable explanation of the relationship between television violence and young viewers.[83]

Even legislation that did not pass Congress until the 1990s had roots in the 1954 hearings. Of the twenty-seven bills introduced between 1950 and 1996 concerning television violence[84] only two actually became law, and both have origins in the earlier hearings. The effect of removing anti-trust regulations which prohibit stations, or networks, from discussing programming or cleaning up the industry was explored during the hearings as a solution to each network being fearful of dropping its violent programs when the others might continue to show similar highly rated shows. Senator Paul Simon introduced the Television Program Improvement Act[85] in 1990 to exempt networks from anti-trust laws so they could work out an industry-wide plan to cut the amount of violence on television.

Finally, the Parental Choice in Television Programming Act of 1996, or the v-chip law, can be traced back to the 1954 hearings. The subcommittee inquired as to the feasibility of a "superorganism" to review all programs prior to airing and rate their content – an idea quite similar to the special commission the FCC could have developed to rate television programming if the industry had not done so voluntarily according to the Act's provisions.[86] It also questioned why the television industry could not rate programs like the movie industry.[87] Of course, the voluntary age-based ratings systems developed by the television industry in 1997 closely mirrored the MPAA's ratings.[88]

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[80] Federal Communications Commission, "Children's Television Programming and Advertising Practices: Report and Order," *Federal Register* 49, 1984: 1704-1714. *See also* Federal Communications Commission, "Children's Television Report and Policy Statement," *Federal Register* 39, 1974: 39396-39409.

[81] Judith Van Evra, *Television and Child Development* (NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1990).

[82] Liebert and Sprafkin, *The Early Window*, 79-108.

[83] Ibid, 75.

[84] Keisha L. Hoerrner, "Symbolic Politics: An Historical, Empirical, and Legal Discussion of Congressional Efforts and the Issue of Television Violence" (Ph.D. diss, University of Georgia, 1998), 46.

[85] 47 U.S.C. § 303c (Supp. III 1991). The Television Program Improvement Act is Title V of Public Law 101-650, Judicial Improvements Act of 1990.

Legal Implications

The legal environment in which the 1950s hearings took place provide an interesting juxtaposition to the seeming inaction by Congress. While the issue of the constitutionality of broadcast regulation had yet to be fully developed by the Supreme Court (the seminal *Red Lion*[89] decision would not be issued for another fifteen years), the justices had ruled on the role of the Federal Communications Commission on several occasions, providing the agency with fairly substantial leeway in terms of regulation. In *NBC v. U.S.* (1943)[90] the Court's majority clearly established that the FCC held "expansive powers"[91] with which to regulate broadcasters due to the "public interest" clause of the 1934 Communications Act. Justice Frankfurter's majority opinion stated:

> The Act itself establishes that the Commission's powers are not limited to the engineering and technical aspects of regulation of radio communication. Yet we are asked to regard the Commission as a kind of traffic officer, policing the wave lengths to prevent stations from interfering with each other. But the Act does not restrict the Commission merely to supervision of that traffic. It puts upon the Commission the burden of determining the composition of that traffic.[92]

Just as he disregarded all the appellants' arguments for restricting the FCC from enacting its chain broadcasting regulations, Justice Frankfurter ignored their appeal to the First Amendment saying that the "unique characteristic"[93] of broadcasting -- spectrum scarcity -- automatically denied some speech freedom over the airwaves. Not receiving a license because one refuses to follow the FCC's regulations was, therefore, not an abridgement of speech. Justice Murphy's dissent did not raise the issue of the First

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[86] 47 U.S.C. § 303(b)(1)(1) (1996).

[87] U.S. Congress. *Juvenile Delinquency (Television Programs)*, 1954, 228.

[88] Mifflin, "Groups Strike Agreement," A12.

[89] *Red Lion Broadcasting Company v. FCC*, 395 U.S. 367 (1969).

[90] 319 U.S. 190 (1943).

[91] Ibid, 219.

[92] *NBC v. U.S.*, 319 U.S. 190 (1943), 215-216.

[93] Ibid, 226.

Amendment, making it rather obvious that the Court did not see broadcast regulation as a potential infringement on constitutional protections.

Subsequent decisions by the Court through the early 1950s solidified the FCC's authority to regulate broadcasting and the justices' reluctance to interfere with the agency's decisions.[94] Although the Court overturned the FCC's authority to define "give-away" programs as illegal in *FCC v. ABC* (1954), it did so only because it exceeded the explicit wording of 18 U.S.C. 1304, a criminal statute derived from Section 316 of the 1934 Communications Act.

Justice Frankfurter's dubitante opinion in *RCA v. U.S.* (1951) clearly established his personal disregard for broadcasting and his view that it could be regulated by the government quite easily. After stating his concern about the negative impact captive listening of the radio may have on society's ability to reflect on issues and his belief that television "may lead to the hasty jettisoning of hard-won gains of civilization,"[95] he cited a Report of the Broadcasting Committee which stated that "the evil is that broadcasting is capable of increasing perhaps the most serious of all dangers which threaten democracy and free institutions today -- the danger of passivity -- of acceptance by masses of orders given to them and of things said to them."[96]

It was against this backdrop of Court acceptance of broadcast regulation that the question of governmental intervention into television content to decrease the amount of violence shown on the air was raised. It appears rather academic that had Congress amended the Communications Act to empower the FCC to review violent programming content or set limits on violent content that the Court, using *NBC v. U.S.* (1943) as precedent, would have found no constitutional concerns with the action. Congressional action might not have even been necessary. The FCC, utilizing Commissioner Hennock's argument, might have simply included a review of violent content as part of the license renewal process to ensure that the licensee was operating in the "public interest." The Court's majority opinion in *NBC* rests so heavily on the FCC's responsibility to uphold the "public interest" clause and finds no First Amendment issue related to regulating broadcasting that it seems reasonable to assume that an FCC regulation could have easily withstood constitutional challenge.

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[94] *Radio Corporation of America et al. v. United States et al.* (341 U.S. 412 (1951)) and *Federal Communication Commission v. American Broadcasting Co, Inc.* (347 U.S. 284 (1954)).

[95] 341 U.S. 412, 425 (1951).

[96] 1949 (Cmd. 8116, 1951) 75, cited in 341 U.S. 412, 428 (1951).

Yet it was the members of the FCC who raised the issue of First Amendment concern just as loud as the industry representatives in the 1950s. And this reluctance to regulate content continued even after the hearings, although changes in FCC personnel led to changes in outlook on this issue.

From Chairman Coy's comments in 1950 to the 1960 Report and Order on Network Programming,[97] members of the FCC showed no desire to play the role of program monitor or censor. During the 1954 hearings, FCC Chair Hyde invoked the First Amendment to ward against governmental interference in television content. His statement that no governmental entity needs "blue pencils" to edit programming content stands as one of the strongest rebukes to governmental interference. Although there are members such as Nicholas Johnson in the 1970s who follow Hennock's path of calling for FCC involvement, there is a remarkable consistency through the years of FCC Chairmen invoking the First Amendment and/or Section 326 of the Communications Act[98]. (It is difficult to judge the attitude of FCC personnel in the 1980s and 1990s based solely on hearing testimony, because the FCC is rarely called to testify during the twelve hearings that occurred from 1980-1996).[99]

There is no clear answer to why the FCC would be so reluctant in the 1950s to regulate, or even why Congress was so reluctant to pass legislation requiring any level of regulation. The answer may be found, however, in a political science theory that was not even developed until 1964, Murray Edelman's symbolic politics theory. Succinctly explained, Edelman posited that politicians engage in symbolic activity rather than substantive activity to manipulate the public into perceiving that they are looking after the public's interests and concerns.[100] Hearings without subsequent legislation are examples of symbolic actions taken by members of Congress to appear responsive to an issue of some concern to the public without engaging in the time-consuming and complex task of enacting real change. This symbolic action remained the "act of choice" for Congress until the mid-1980s, when Senator Paul Simon repeatedly began to introduce legislation to curb violence on television. Still, there is a significant amount of symbolic congressional action from 1950 to 1997 in the area of television violence, but only two public laws enacted.

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[97] Federal Communications Commission, "Network Programming Inquiry: Report and Statement of Policy." *Federal Register* 25 (1960), 7291-7296.

[98] Hoerrner, "Symbolic Politics," 58.

[99] Cooper, *Violence on Television*, 163-174. *See also* Hoerrner, "Symbolic Politics," 46.

[100] Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics* (IL: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

The question of why the FCC would be reticent to gain control of programming is probably explained more by history than theory, however. The 1950s were a decade of great technological advancements in broadcasting, and the FCC was overwhelmed by the technical aspects of its responsibility.[101] The last thing commissioners needed were further responsibilities, especially ones that would be contested by the industry. By the late 1950s the FCC was embroiled in its own controversy, with Senator Oren Harris investigating the commissioners for accepting bribes, taking trips on privately owned yachts of broadcasters, and being overly friendly with the industry they were charged to regulate. Commissioners came and went at a much faster rate than what is commonplace today. The end of the decade saw the FCC, Congress, and the industry focusing on the quiz show scandals, which was actually the first time the agency was involved in a programming content discussion.[102] There is little wonder that the activities of the 1950s left little time for the FCC to concern itself with regulating television violence.

Conclusion

For all of their lingering impact on the issue of television violence and the government's involvement in that issue, the 1952 and 1954-55 hearings are usually thought of as merely the starting point of four decades of sporadic government concern. Certainly, the 1968 congressional hearings that established the research project known as the 1972 Surgeon General's Report and the 1972 hearings that followed the report's release have received much more attention than their ancestors. Careful examination of the 1950s hearings, however, provides invaluable insight into how the issue originated and the unwritten guidelines that the industry, government, and researchers followed for decades.

It is no surprise these early television violence hearings are easily forgotten, though, for the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency forgot about them after issuing its 1956 report. The subcommittee itself continued into the 1960s, but its primary focus returned to families, communities, schools, and courts. Kefauver and the Democrats did not win the White House in 1956, and he turned his attention to anti-trust crusades for the remainder of his congressional career.[103] The issue of television violence did not tickle the fancy of legislators again until 1962, when the juvenile delinquency subcommittee briefly revisited the issue once more.[104] More attention was given to the 1964 hearings, held when the country was beginning to question the violent society that allowed the president to be assassinated. Subsequent upswings in real-life violence, at least in the minds of citizens, led to nine congressional hearings on television violence in the 1970s, seven in the 1980s, and five in the 1990s.[105] That cycle looks as though it will continue.

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[101] Sterling and Kittross, *Stay Tuned*, 356-359.

[102] Ibid, 361-364.

Still, the overarching issue is the establishment of the "game" played between the broadcasting industry -- the media industry that faces the strongest forms of governmental regulation -- and Congress as well as the placement of the First Amendment into the game by both sides. The industry uses the First Amendment as its primary defense to ward off governmental interference in its programming decisions, while the government -- both the FCC and Congress -- uses the First Amendment to ensure that current governmental boundaries are not enlarged. The accepted activity of discussing the problem seems useful to all the players of the game, as the public is assured that both Congress and the industry are concerned about children. No further action is attempted by either side, however. The rules established in 1952 remained in place for decades to follow, so the game could be played over and over again.

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[103] Fortenay, *Estes Kefauver*, 283.

[104] U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee of the Judiciary. Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency. *Juvenile Delinquency, Part 10: Effects on Young People of Violence and Crime Portrayed on Television*. 87th Cong., 2d sess., 1962.

[105] Hoerrner, "Symbolic Politics," 46.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S CHINA INITIATIVE: A PUBLICLY PREPARED SURPRISE

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PRESIDENT NIXON'S CHINA INITIATIVE: A PUBLICLY PREPARED SURPRISE

ABSTRACT

President Nixon's announcement to normalize relations with China on July 15, 1971 took the world by surprise and marked a dramatic turning point in U.S. media coverage of China. The media were caught unprepared and generally deplored the lack of information about Nixonis moves in U.S. policy shifts toward China prior to the sudden announcement. However, Nixon himself called his China initiative "one of the most publicly prepared surprises in history." This paper discusses how the Nixon administration communicated with China and the U.S. public during the period from Nixonis presidential campaign in 1968 to his televised speech in July 1971 through public announcements, press conferences, policy changes, third-party intermediaries, and open signals. Media responses to these subtle moves are also examined.

Introduction: The Announcement that Shocked the World

At 7:30 on the evening of July 15, 1971, at NBC television studios in Burbank, California, President Richard Nixon appeared before nationwide cameras and microphones to deliver a three-and-half-minute speech, which took the whole world by complete surprise and would produce ìone of the greatest diplomatic surprises of the century."[1] Nixon said, "I have requested this television time tonight to announce a major development in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the world."[2] He then went on to make the announcement, which was being delivered simultaneously in Beijing (Peking):

> Premier Chou En-lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's Assistant for National Security Affairs, held talks in Peking from July 9 to 11. Knowing of President Nixon's expressed desire to visit the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, has extended an invitation to President Nixon to visit China at an appropriate date before May 1972. President Nixon has accepted the invitation with pleasure.
>
> The meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides. [3]

Nixon and Kissinger, who had flown together by helicopter from the Western White House in Los Angeles to the Burbank studio for the announcement, knew that the world had been startled by the declaration. They celebrated this moving occasion in a L.A. fashionable restaurant with four top aides, where Nixon savored congratulations from bystanders by shaking hands with them.[4]

The announcement carried top headlines in major American newspapers as well as around the world. The reaction triggered by the Nixon speech was instantaneous and almost uniformly favorable in the United States. Despite some discordant churlish and angry comments from a few conservatives and Nixon's traditional enemies, journalists in America were nearly unanimous in lavishing praise. According to a *New York Times* report the next day, the Nixon announcement had strong bipartisan support in the Congress. Meanwhile, government leaders of China's neighbors welcomed the thaw in Sino-US relations with the exception of the affronted Japanese, the dismayed Taiwanese and the alarmed Russians. Leaders of the then-U.S.S.R. called the diplomatic efforts "a result of anti-Soviet maneuvering on the part of both the U.S. and China."[5]

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[1] Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), p. 544.

[2] Ibid., p. 544.

[3] Ibid., p. 544. Also Henry Kissinger, *White House Years* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1979), pp. 759-760. The full transcript of the speech was reported both on the July 16 issue of *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

[4] "Nixon's Coup: To Peking for Peace." *Time*, July 26, 1971, p.11.

The "deceptively modest formulation"[6] of this televised announcement brought an exuberant response from world leaders. England's Lord Caradon, former Ambassador to the United Nations, who acclaimed this as "a turning point in world history," was echoed by the new Secretary-General of NATO, Joseph Luns.[7] "A Great Turning Point in World Politics" was a headline in the prestigious French daily *Le Monde*.[8]

Despite the almost uniformly favorable media responses to Nixon's announcement, journalists were caught quite unprepared for the Nixon-Kissinger *coup* with their China initiative. Behind this brief announcement lay more than two years of complex, subtle and determined diplomatic signals and negotiations. This step was in no way an unprepared or premature shift of foreign policy in the Nixon administration. Although at the very start, the Nixon administration's move to communicate with the Chinese leaders had been kept under conditions of top secrecy, the initiative was actually "one of the most publicly prepared surprises in history,"[9] according to Nixon in his memoirs published in 1978.

Many people have believed that the primary motive of Nixon's approach to China was to play off China against the Soviet Union in the cold war period to gain leverage in negotiating with the USSR, or, in other words, the Nixon doctrine in foreign policy was to play the `China Card.' Although the Soviet Union had been an important factor in Nixon's epoch-making step toward rapprochement with China, it should be noted that Nixon had regarded China on its own as his real priority. "Even if there had been no Soviet Union, and no Vietnam War, I would still have taken the initiative on China. It just had to be done," Nixon recalled in the last volume of his memoirs published in 1990.[10]

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[5] *New York Times*, July 16, 1971, p. 1, p. 3.

[6] *Time*, July 26, 1971, p. 11.

[7] Ibid., p.11.

[8] "Nixon: I will go to China," *Newsweek*, July 26, 1971, p. 16-17.

[9] Nixon, *Memoirs*, p. 545.

The Nixon administration had left one of the most miraculous legacies in communicating with the Chinese leaders. How could it happen that "the work of more than 30 people [engaged in their secret diplomacy with China]... did not come to even semipublic attention for years?"[11] *Newsweek* editors in 1971 called Nixon's action to end the long animosity between Washington and Beijing "the best-kept Presidential secret since Lyndson Johnson's televised abdication speech more than three years ago."[12] If that had been the case, then why had U.S. journalists, known worldwide for their inosiness,î not prepared the public, and even the media themselves, for the history-making reversal in American foreign policy during the Nixon's administration's more than two years of secret contact with China? While secrecy might be necessary to ensure the success of diplomacy between the two influential nations in the global power structure, exchange of public messages could prepare or educate the two peoples toward acceptance of governmental behaviors to "enemy" countries with no diplomatic ties.

The Nixon administration has been an unprecedented chapter in U.S. politics, U.S. history, U.S. journalism and above all, Sino-U.S. relationships. It also marked a turning point in the White House-press relationship as well as the U.S. media presentation of China. The tale of Nixon's communication with the Chinese government in the two years before he made the startling announcement was a legacy that has made history. The mass media, long recognized as channels for carrying messages and symbols to the general populace, to a large extent failed to keep track of what Nixon called a "publicly prepared surprise." How the Nixon administration communicated, legitimated, and executed a major policy change toward a major ideological rival is the topic of this paper. Despite the voluminous literature about the Nixon presidency, this still is an inadequately explored area. This paper studies how the Nixon administration communicated with China and the U.S. people during the period from Nixon's presidential campaign in 1968 to his televised announcement of his major policy reversal toward China in July 1971, and how the U.S. press responded to Nixon's public moves.

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[10] Richard Nixon, *In the Arena: A Memoirs of Victory, Defeat, and Renewal* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), pp. 331-32.

[11] "Keeping Secrets," *Time*, July 26, 1971, p. 10.

[12] *Newsweek*, July 26, 1971, p. 16.

The U.S. Presidency and the Mass Media

From George Washington in the late 18th century to Bill Clinton in the late 20th century, the relationship between the presidency and the press has been a topic of interest and debate among historians and media scholars. Since the 1950s and 1960s, with television playing an increasingly important role in the political arena, the chronic stresses and strains between the government and the press have generated a surge in interest, intellectual activity and publication among political analysts and scholars from various fields.

The presidential-press relationship is basically symbiotic or interdependent. Conflict and cooperation seem appropriate words to describe the nature of this relationship.[13] Politicians and journalists use each other to advance their careers. While politicians rely on the media to put their messages across to the public, the routine and standardized newsroom culture contribute to the development of formalized practices among journalists to incorporate official political messages and biases in the news.[14]

In the shifting symbiotic White House-press relationship for over two centuries in the United States, one theme seems constant -- the growing dissatisfaction of one with the other. Among the potentially interminable list of reasons, the most recurrent are the government-claimed need to conduct much business in secrecy and the journalistsi desires to penetrate that secrecy to ensure an enlightened democratic decision-making process.[15]

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[13] Michael Baruch Grossman & Martha Joynt Kumar, *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

[14] George Juergens, *News from the White House: The Presidential-Press Relationship in the Progressive Era* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Martin Mayer, *Making News* (Garden City, New York: Doubeday & Company, Inc., 1987); Charles Press & Kenneth VerBurg, *American Politicians and Journalists* (Boston: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1986); Mark Fishman, *Manufacturing the News* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980).

[15] James Deakin, "The Problem of Presidential-Press Relations," in Kenneth W. Thompson (Ed.), *The White House Press on the Presidency: News Management and Co.-option* (New York: University Press of America, 1983), pp. 7-33.

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Journalism historian James Pollard, who published the first full-length historical work about the presidency-press relationship in 1947, examined the developing relationship between the president and the press from the administration of George Washington through that of Franklin Roosevelt and the early Truman years.[16] Pollard devoted discrete sections to how each president employed the press to further his policies and political interests and explored the influence of each president's personality on the relationship. In another book published in 1985, John Tebbel and Sarah Miles Watts described the shifting relationship between the president and the press from George Washington to Ronald Reagan.[17] They discussed the changing nature of the presidency in American politics, individual characteristics of the president, transformation of the press -- especially the advent of the electronic media -- and the changing functions of both the government and the media in the growing complexity of the American society. Tebbel and Watts persuasively argued that the U.S. presidency has evolved into an imperialistic institution, in which the president and his government are capable of, and actively engaged in, manipulating and controlling the media.

John Anthony Maltese shared the same concern in his study of the White House Office of Communications from its origins in the Nixon presidency to the early Clinton administration.[18] Although some of the functions of that office had been carried out informally in earlier administrations, such as those of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, it became an institutionalized mechanism in the Nixon presidency in 1969. The fundamental function of the office, from administration to administration since Richard Nixon, has been, in Malteseis words, to "control the public agenda by making presidential news . . ." It is also one example of "how modern presidents have attempted to increase their control over the executive branch and the policies of government by placing more power in the hands of the White House staff."[19]

From the White House perspective, control of information is essential for successful decision-making. However, the increasing manipulation of news available to the governed has raised a serious issue for the enlightenment of the American public. Managing news and manipulating the media by White House media maestros have become indispensable to the governing strategies of the modern American presidency. Daily complexities have been reduced to slick sound bites and simplified slogans, creating today's "politics of illusion," to borrow a term from W. Lance Bennett.[20] Nixon put it bluntly in his memoirs: "Since the advent of television as our primary means of communication and source of information, modern Presidents . . . must try to master the art of manipulating the media not only to win in politics but in order to further the programs and causes they believe in."[21]

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[16] James E. Pollard, *The Presidents and the Press* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947).

[17] John Tebel & Sarah Miles Watt, *The Press and the Presidency: From George Washington to Ronald Reagon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[18] John Anthony Maltese, *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News* (second edition) (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

[19] Ibid., p.5.

Although all presidents from George Washington to Bill Clinton seem to have realized the importance of using the mass media to further their political goals, modern presidents may thank Richard Nixon for perfecting the techniques of co-opting the Washington media corps. Joseph Spear concluded, "The post-Nixon presidents . . . are all graduates of the Richard Nixon Media Manipulation."[22] The Nixon administration, by ingeniously revising, honing and polishing to perfection media manipulation strategies -- appeasement, evasion, and intimidation -- to mold public perception and opinion, marked an epochal turning point in president-press relationship in modern U.S. politics. Nixon was master at manipulating the press through a "keep-them-comfortable-but-keep-them-ignorant" strategy.[23] He believed that the Washington press had to be kept diverted while he carried out his errands. "Give the press a lot of copy," he lectured his press aides, "then they won't have too much to squeal about."[24] Press Secretary Ron Ziegler normally met the press twice a day and overwhelmed the Washington press corps with position papers and handouts, which contained little important news.[25]

As part of his evasion strategy, Nixon limited his direct contact with the press by holding few press conferences. Because of his distrust of the media, he constantly used television air time to present his information directly to the American people.[26] Journalists often succumbed to the Nixon attempts to intimidate and harass the press, as evidenced by the coverage of the administration after Vice President Agnew's Des Moines speech attacking the press and the coverage of the 1972 elections, Joseph C. Spear argues.[27]

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[20] W. Lance Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusion* (Third edition) (Longman, 1996).

[21] Nixon, *Memoirs*, p. 354.

[22] Joseph C. Spear, *Presidents and the Press: The Nixon Legacy* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1984), p. 32.

[23] Ibid., p. 66.

[24] William Safire, *Before the Fall* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1975), p. 108.

[25] Spear, *Presidents and the Press*, pp. 75-77.

Much has been said in voluminous detail of Nixon's long-time hatred for the press. It is ironic that an indisputable expert of political campaigns and news manufacturing should also distrust the media so much. He believed the media were "out there to get him." "You've got to realize the press aren't interested in liking you, they are only interested in . . . screwing you," he said in a cabinet meeting early in his presidency.[28] In his 1978 memoirs, he wrote, "I considered the influential majority of the news media to be part of my political opposition."[29]

However, Nixon's hatred for the press did not prevent him from manipulating and controlling it to his own advantage. The first major success of his media strategies came from the Alger Hiss case, in which Hiss, a respected member of the Harry S. Truman administration, was found guilty of subversive activities. The Hiss case, in the early years, was used by Nixon to smear his opponents as Communist sympathizers and gain an advantage in political campaigns as in the 1950 Senate election in California and the 1952 presidential election, when he was the vice-president nominee for the Republican Party.[30] The Hiss case, it could be argued, turned out to be Nixon's ladder to the presidency. Paradoxically, the adamant anti-Communist Nixon would later be the U.S. President to realize dÈtente with China.

Research Questions and Method

When Nixon came to the presidency in the late 1960s, after more than two decades of bitter hostility between the U.S. and China, burying the deep-rooted animosity and improving bilateral relations was no easy undertaking. How did the two governments communicate their intentions of friendliness? The exchange of public messages was necessary because each government had to prepare its people for the acceptance of policy change.

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[26] Spear, *Presidents and the Press*, pp. 85-110; Maltese, *Spin Control*, pp. 58-74.

[27] Spear, *Presidents and the Press*, pp. 111-176; Safire, *Before the Fall.*, p. 178.

[28] H. R. Haldeman, *The Haldeman Diaries: Inside the Nixon White House* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1994), p. 6.

[29] Nixon, *Memoirs*, p. 355.

[30] William A. Reuben, *Honorable Mr. Nixon and the Alger Hiss Case* (New York: Action Books, 1956).

The changes in press coverage in response to the Nixon shifts in U.S. policy toward China have been well-documented.[31] The Nixon initiative with China was an excellent example of how the President could influence and change abruptly the image of a nation within the U.S. overnight. However, the intriguing question remains unaddressed: how did the Nixon administration used the media to communicate with the public about its intention of a major shift in foreign policy toward China without aborting its secret diplomacy with China? Unlike many previous studies, this paper mainly focuses on what happened before Nixon announced his intended historical trip to China on July 15, 1971. In view of the specific event under study, this study focuses on how the Nixon administration managed to communicate with the American public and the Chinese to indicate and prepare a major overhaul in U.S. foreign policy toward China, and how the media responded to the White House posturing. Public announcements, presidential press conferences, press releases government documents, and public signals through various channels in connection to U.S.-China relationships as well as media coverage of these announcements and signals are analyzed and personal memoirs, diaries, recollections and other historical writings are searched to answer the above questions. Mass media examined in the study mainly include the *New York Times, Washington Post, Time* and *Newsweek.*

Nixon in the Early 1960s: Political Ideas on the Transition

The rise and fall of the Nixon presidency was an unrivaled chapter in U.S. history. Nixon's name has been naturally associated with some unique events that have shaped journalism history as well U.S. history -- the Vietnam War, the Pentagon Papers case, and above all, the Watergate scandal.

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[31] For example, Claude A. Buss, China: The Peopleis Republic of China and Nixon (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1974); Tsan-Kuo Chang, *The press and China policy: The illusion of Sino-American relations, 1950-1984* (Norwood, NJ.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1993); Lih-Hwa Yeh, *Press Ideology and the Shift in U.S.-China Foreign Policy: Coverage of The Nation, Newsweek, Time and the National Review on China and on U. S.-China Relations 1967-1974* (MA Thesis, Twin Cities: University of Minnesota, 1989); Tzyh-Fang Effie Sun, *The Changing Image of China in Time and Newsweek: 1968 and 1969* (MA thesis, Twin cities: University of Minnesota, 1984).

During his presidency, his accomplishments on the global stage far outshadowed those in the domestic arena. The Nixon era corresponds to a period when the United States was losing its dominant position in world affairs, and a more realistic foreign policy was necessary. Nixon's broad vision in world politics and his phenomenal strategies have earned him the name "the foreign affairs President."[32] Many historians predict with hindsight that if there had been no breakthrough with China, "Congress would have emasculated the President in 1971; there would not have been a SALT-1 agreement; South Vietnam would have fallen in the 1972 North Vietnamese offensive; the United States would have been irrelevant to its allies, and there would have been no Israel after 1973."[33] For sure, there would have been no Watergate, and journalism history could have been differently written.

It is impossible to discuss the Nixon record in foreign affairs without putting China at the head of a list of accomplishments and without acknowledging Henry Kissinger, who functioned as the major architect and administrator of the Nixon doctrine. Although much credit has been given to Kissinger in his role in the implementation of the Nixon administration's foreign policies, the President was generally considered to be the originator of these big steps and the one in command.[34] Therefore, it is necessary to examine historically Nixon's formulation, and the maturity, of his China initiative.

In his early political career as Congressman, Nixon railed against mainland China and joined in criticizing the Truman administration for losing China to the Communists in 1949. As the man who defeated Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas for Californian Senator in 1950, Nixon was widely assumed to know more about Communism and how to cope with it than any other American politician.[35] In November 1950, Nixon wrote to the editors of the *Sacramento Bee*, "Because of the appeasement attitude of the State Department toward Communism in China, which has been and apparently is still supported by Mrs. Douglas, China has fallen into the Communist orb," and he reiterated his opposition to a U.N. seat and recognition of the mainland Chinese government.[36]

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[32] See, for example, Gerald S. Strober & Deborah H. Strober, *Nixon: An Oral History of His Presidency* (New York: Haper Colllins Publishers, 1994), pp. 118-196; Leon Friedman & William F. Levantrosser, *Cold War Patriot and Statesman: Richard M. Nixon* (West port, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), pp. 5-14.

[33] Russ Braley, *Bad News: The Foreign Policy of the New York Times* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1984), p. 435.

[34] Ibid., pp. 118- 128. See also Nixon, *Memoirs*; Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician* (Volume 2) (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989) for the development of the Nixon doctrine and the Nixon-Kissinger cooperation in foreign policy.

[35] Jonathan Aitken, *Nixon, A Life*(London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993).

Throughout the 1950s and even in the early 1960s, Nixon stuck to his proposition that America should never recognize mainland China. He repeatedly proclaimed that Americans should look forward to the day when Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist regime would recapture mainland China from the Communists. To make his stand clear, he declared, when first seeking the presidency in 1960, "I can think of nothing more detrimental to freedom or peace than the recognition of Communist China."[37]

In 1964, during a trip to Hong Kong, in responding to Senator J. William Fulbright's call for a "review" of U.S. policy toward China to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet split, Nixon said, "This kind of naive woolly-headed thinking is what has plagued U.S. policy."[38] He also said that "it would be disastrous to the cause of freedom" for the United States to recognize "Red China" or accept its admission into the United Nations.[39]

On June 12, 1963, before he began his new job in a Wall Street law firm in New York, Nixon set out on a six-week family vacation in Europe and the Middle East, which turned out to be a diplomatic circuit of international capitals. The highlight of his trip was a two-hour private luncheon as the guest of French President Charles de Gaulle. The invitation came as a last-minute surprise to the Nixons. Six people were present: the de Gaulles, the Nixons, and the American Ambassador in Paris and his wife. At the end of the meal, de Gaulle made this remarkable toast, "I realized you've been checked in the pursuit of your goals. But I have a great sense that some time in the future, without doubt, you will be able to serve your country again in an even greater capacity."[40] De Gaulle almost predicted the coming back of Nixon in the political arena, and on several occasions over the next few years, he told his aides and visitors that Nixon was the man destined to lead the United States.[41]

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[36] Herbert S. Parmet, *Richard Nixon and His America* (London: Little Brown, 1990), p. 210.

[37] Leonard Lurie, *The Running of Richard Nixon* (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1972), p. 364.

[38] *New York Times*, April 5, 1964.

[39] *New York Times*, April 6, 1964.

[40] Aitken, *Nixon, A Life*, p. 318-319.

Perhaps what impressed Nixon most was President de Gaulle's remarks about the importance of the United States negotiating with the Chinese as soon as possible while they still needed American friendship, instead of waiting too long until America would be compelled to deal with them because of their strength.[42] As one of the first few Western leaders to recognize Communist China, de Gaulle's words influenced Nixon so much that he visited de Gaulle again in 1967 before the presidential campaign, and he began with France in his trip to foreign countries immediately after his inauguration in 1969, to talk further about major policies concerning China on both occasions. Very probably, it was at this 1963 luncheon on the patio of the Elysee Palace that led Nixon to reevaluate his political ideas about China, which would became a major issue of the Nixon Doctrine.

1967 and 1968: Nixon's Preparation for the Presidency and a New Geopolitical Strategy

Upon resuming his career as an attorney in New York in the 1960s, Nixon's interest in politics was as keen as ever. Having already experienced two forced retirements from the political arena, he announced to his family at Christmas time in 1967 that he was serious about running for the presidency and got the expected unanimous family support. In fact, running for presidency had been on Nixon's mind since January 7 and 8, 1967, when he held meetings at the Waldorf Towers in New York and told his personal political staff, "I'm not going to be coy with my oldest friends and closest advisers. I want you to proceed with plans for winning the Republican Presidential nomination next year."[43]

However, after successfully positioning himself as a probable Republican Presidential nominee in 1968, instead of making a series of national speeches and attracting the limelight of TV cameras, Nixon did the seemingly oddest thing: he made a public disappearance. His preparations for the campaign took the unusual form of extensive travel and writings. He was giving the signal that he intended to devote his presidency to foreign affairs and that he was planning new initiatives in the field neglected by the former two Presidents, John F. Kennedy and Lyndson Johnson - a signal that few people in America got and even fewer would likely to have believed at that time.

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ambrose, *Nixon, The Triumph of a Politician: 1962-1972.*

[43] Nixon, *The Memoirs,* p. 279.

Nixon's foreign studies trips were undertaken to build on what he considered his political strength -- his knowledge of world affairs. In these 1967 extensive, "fact-finding trips,"[44] which covered Europe and the Soviet Union in March, Asia in April, Latin America and the Middle East in June, Nixon met with world leaders, refined his ideas about global conditions and evaluated at first hand the problems, opportunities and dangers confronting the United States. One of the topics he explored with many world leaders was the U.S.-China relationship in the foreseeable future.

Apparently these trips helped Nixon formulate a new geopolitical strategy for America. In an interview later, Nixon recalled, "I realized that I had to get ready for the top job, and that the best thing I could do was to get to know the world . . . These six months became one of the most creative periods of my entire life, because it was then that I began to see what to be done, with the Soviets, with China, and with our allies."[45]

Nixon summarized his conclusions from these trips, first in his Lakeside Speech at the Bohemian Grove in July -- a speech off the record and got no publicity but one he said ìmarked the first milestone on my road to the presidency"[46] -- and then in "**Asia After Viet Nam,î**[47] a much quoted article in the 1967 October issue of *Foreign Affairs*. In the article, Nixon predicted the rise of the Far East economic miracle in countries like South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Taiwan. More importantly, this made public that Nixon intended to raise the curtain on his future policy on China. Nixon wrote:

> Any American policy toward Asia must come urgently to grips with the reality of China. This does not mean, as many would simply have it, rushing to grant recognition to Peking, to admit to the United Nations and to ply it with offers of trade . . . . Taking the long view, we simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations . . . There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its

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[44] Ambrose, *Nixon: The Triumph of a Politician*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

[45] Aitken, *Nixon: A Life*, p. 362.

[46] Nixon, *The Memoirs*, p. 284.

[47] See Richard Nixon, "Asia After Viet Nam," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1967, Vol. 46 (1), pp. 111-125.

> potentially most able people to live in angry isolation.[48]

Noticeably, Nixon scarcely used "Red China" or Communist China," the official designation at that time, in the article and used instead the neutral terms "China" or "mainland China." At the time, the official United States position was that China, with its seven hundred million people, did not exist legitimately. The Taiwan regime of Chiang Kai-shek was the China formally recognized by Washington.

This attitude was mentioned with hindsight in all four print media reputed for their coverage of international affairs, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, as a clear indication that Nixon intended a reversal of his earlier anti-Peking stand in 1971 -- only after President Nixon made the surprising announcement that he would go to China.[49] However, this story was totally different during Nixon's presidential campaign and his early administration. None of the four print news media paid any attention to the article at that time.

On several other occasions in 1968, Nixon mentioned desired policy changes in dealing with China. In August, just before his nomination at the Republican Party convention in Miami, Nixon described China, according to the Associated Press, as "the next superpower." He also said that he might visit Beijing, "if they would give me a visa."[50] In an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* in August immediately after his nomination for candidacy, Nixon said that "We must not forget China. We must always seek opportunities to talk with her."[51]

By mid-October Nixon seemed so assured of victory in the presidential race that he was even prepared to map out his forthcoming presidential plans for foreign policy. In one of a series of radio speeches on Oct. 19, 1968, as the Republican candidate on a wide range of issues, Nixon said that the next president should try to open the door to China, "We must . . . . anticipate eventual conversations with the leaders of Communist China. We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations . . . . There is no place on this small planet for a billion of its potentially most able people to live in angry isolation."[52] The statement echoed his theme and even used the same language as the *Foreign Affairs* article but amazingly failed to get the attention of the news people, who were complaining about the lack of substance in the candidatesí speeches. The *New York Times* report the following day stressed the conventional frame of "threat from Communist China."[53]

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[48] Ibid., p. 121.

[49] See *Time*, July 26, p. 12; *Newsweek*, July 26, p. 17; *New York Times*, July 16, A1; and *Washington Post*, A1. All see this seminal article as Nixon's signal for a departure from his previous anti-China stand.

[50] Seymour M. Hersh, *The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House* (New York: Summit Books, 1983), pp. 350-351.

[51] *U.S. News & World Report*, September 16, 1968, p. 48.

Nixon also sounded the same theme on October 18, one day before the above radio speech, in a private but historically significant conversation with Harrison Salisbury, the Assistant Managing Editor of the *New York Times*. "Nixon outlined the foreign policy he would put in place," recalled Salisbury in a later interview. In his presidency, Salisbury said, besides making the initial move to Western Europe and the next move to end the Vietnam War, "He (Nixon) also told me he planned to make an opening to China. He said it was not possible to conceive of a secure world without China's cooperation and it would only be possible to deal with the Russians after he had struck up an allied accord with the Chinese."[54] Salisbury did not report this interview in the press then but he reported another interview with Nixon a month earlier on the same topic, in which Nixon said that he was looking forward in his administration to the inevitable negotiations with China. ìThe China problem cannot be indefinitely swept under the table. This country must prepare to cope with it"[55]

It is clear that 1967 and 1968 were critical years in which Nixon considered the future course of foreign policy in his potential presidency. Nixon was at his most creative and original in his *Foreign Affairs* article in outlining his ideas in world affairs. In preparations before and during the campaign, he did not lose the chance to float trial balloons and, meanwhile, he did so in a way that would offer him several paths of retreat if necessary. Few of his moves were considered to deserve serious coverage by journalists.

1969 and 1970: Secret and Semi-open Channels to China

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[52] James Keogh, *President Nixon and the Press* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1972), p. 13.

[53] *New York Times*, 10/10/68, p.1, p. 75.

[54] Aitken, *Nixon: A Life*. p. 362.

[55] *New York Times*, September 16, 1968.

At 8 a.m. eastern time, Nov. 6, 1968, the television networks announced Richard M. Nixon was the winner of the presidential campaign. He spent the next two months planning ambitious domestic and foreign policies, and he had foreseen unique potentials for a new era of negotiations to replace the preceding era of confrontation -- in Vietnam, China, Russia, the Middle East and around the world. Some of his ideas were discussed in a meeting with Kissinger on Nov. 25, 1968, at the Nixon transition headquarters in New York. The meeting centered on the great issues of foreign policy and Nixon specifically said that he wished to re-evaluate the U.S. policy toward China and urged Kissinger to read his *Foreign Affairs* article on Asia after Vietnam.[56]

The meeting led Nixon to a "strong intuition about Kissinger," and he "decided on the spot that he (Kissinger) should be my National Security Adviser,"[57] Nixon wrote in his 1978 memoirs. Thus it was clear that the China initiative was mainly, if not solely, Nixon's vision -- there was no indication that Henry Kissinger ever considered seriously the possibility of a U.S.-China rapprochement prior to this pivotal meeting with Nixon.[58]

In his inaugural address, Nixon had indirectly referred to his *Foreign Affairs* article when he said that "we seek an open world -- open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation."[59] The phrase "angry isolation" harked back to the article. But the wording of the statement was so ambiguous that it was open to diverse interpretation. One day after Inauguration Day, Nixon sent a memo to Kissinger, asking him to explore discreetly the possibility of rapprochement with China:

> . . . I think we should give every encouragement to the attitude that this Administration is "exploring possibilities of raprochement [*sic*] with the Chinese. This, of course, should be done privately and should under no circumstances get into the public prints from this direction. However, in contacts with your friends, and particularly in any ways you might have to get to this . . . source, I would continue to plant

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[56] For a detailed account of the meeting, see Kissinger, *White House Years*, pp. 9-16; Nixon, *Memoirs*, pp. 340-341.

[57] Nixon, *Memoirs*, p. 341.

[58] For example, in Kissigner's *White House Years* and Hersh's *Kissinger*, no mention was made of Kissinger's move to study the topic of U.S.-China relations until his meeting with Nixon. China was not his particular strength in his early career as a Harvard professor.

[59] "Search for Peace," Nixon's Inaugural Address. *Vital Speeches of the Day*, February 1, 1969 (Southold, New York: City News Publishing Company)

that idea.[60]

This note set the tone for the administration's diplomatic strategy in realizing dÈtente with China: The administration was to create the impression that it was exploring a new move toward China while being engaged in secret diplomacy.

However, Nixon was very cautious in predicting any possibility of change in policy toward China publicly. At the first press conference in his presidency, on Jan. 27, 1969, when asked whether he was planning to improve relations with China, he denied any possibility for the United States to admit China to the United Nations. But he went on to say that "we look forward to that meeting (in Warsaw).[61] We will be interested to see what the Chinese Communist representatives may have to say at that meeting, whether any changes of attitude on their part on major, substantive issues may have occurred."[62] In itself, this represented a major change from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' unmistakable hostility toward China. This change was noticed in one little paragraph in the *New York Times* the following day.[63]

China made the first approach to Nixon, just after his election in 1968, by sending its first signal to Washington proposing on November 26 that the long-standing ambassadorial talks between China and the United States, which had been held intermittently since 1955, be resumed for the first time since their suspension in May. After agreeing that the talks would be reconvened in Warsaw on Feb. 20, 1969, China made its intention clear in a Foreign Ministry statement that "the new U. S. President will have been in office for a month and the U. S. side will be able to make up its mind about the future course of directions."[64] However, the Chinese side canceled the scheduled talks twenty-four hours before they were to meet after the Chinese *chargÈ d'affaires* in the Netherlands defected and sought asylum in the United States in late January 1969.[65]

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[60] Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 169.

[61] The Warsaw talks were the only official channel of communication between China and the U.S. since 1954, which first began in Geneva between consular officials of China and the U.S. and was raised to ambassadorian level in 1955 and moved to Warsaw. The Chinese side postponed the talks in May 1968.

[62] *The Nixon Presidential Press Conferences* (Earl M. Coleman Enterprises, Inc., Publishers, 1978).

[63] *New York Times*, January 28, 1969.

[64] Hersh, *The Price of Power*, p. 354.

[65] *New York Times*, February 19, 1969.

One month into his presidency, on Feb. 23, 1969, Nixon began his first foreign trip to Europe as the new American President. One important goal Nixon wanted to accomplish during this trip was to open the secret channel of communication with China through the cooperation of President de Gaulle, who had maintained a good relationship with China. In his private talks with de Gaulle, Nixon said that he "envisaged the admission of Beijing to the U. N. and the normalization of relations between China and the United States."[66] Still, Nixon did not predict any concrete change in his policy toward China publicly. At a press conference on March 4, back from his much-publicized European trip, Nixon said that he hoped "to be able to develop new understanding with those who have opposed us on the other side of the world . . . Looking further down the road, we could think in terms of a better understanding with Red China. But being very realistic, in view of China's breaking off the rather limited Warsaw talks that were planned, I do not think we should hold out any great optimism for any breakthrough in that direction at this time."[67] Moreover, in response to a question concerning his talks with de Gaulle, he said that "whether it was Vietnam, or whether it was the Mideast, or whether it was U. S. relations with other countries where the French might be helpful, I received from General de Gaulle very encouraging indications that they would like to be helpful where we thought they could be helpful."[68] With the advantage of hindsight, it is now clear that Nixon was talking about the French secret channel of communicating with China.

A few weeks later, when de Gaulle was in Washington to attend the funeral of former President Eisenhower, Nixon formally requested that the French President convey the spirit of America's new policy to the Chinese, to which De Gaulle agreed.[69] In July and early August, Nixon traveled to more countries, including some in Asia. In Islamabad and in Bucharest, he echoed his opening-to-China theme to General Agha Muhamad Yahya Khan and President Nicolae CeauÁescu, both of whom had maintained cordial relations with Beijing. At these two meetings, the Pakistani President and the Romanian President respectively agreed to be the messenger between Washington and Beijing.[70] This marked the beginning of the Pakistani and Romanian channels.

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[66] Marvin Kalb & Bernard Kalb, *Kissinger* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1974), p. 222.

[67] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index.* Volume 5 (1969), p. 362.

[68] Ibid., p. 364.

[69] Hersh, *The Price of Power*, pp. 222-223.

The Nixon administration, of course, did not rely solely on foreign intermediaries and announced a series of unilateral acts of reconciliation to China in 1969. For example:

> On February 18, the President instructed Secretary of State Williams Rogers to declare that the United States wanted to engage in a broad program of cultural and scientific exchanges with China.[71]
>
> On February 21, in response to the question "Would the President discuss China with the European leaders" while briefing the news media about the upcoming Presidential European trip, Kissinger commented that "Any review of the international situation must involve an assessment of the role of a country with a population of seven hundred million." He went on to say that "The President has always indicated that he favors a policy of maximum contact."[72]
>
> On August 8, the State Department announced that scholars, journalists, students, scientists and members of Congress could now automatically have their passports validated for travel to China and American tourists could buy up to a hundred dollars' worth of Chinese goods.
>
> On the same day, Secretary of State Rogers made a speech in Australia, not much noticed by the press, in which he explicitly stated that "We have been seeking to open up channels of communication" with China. Rogers also expressed the administration's desire to resume the Warsaw talks.[73] The *New York Times*, in a story about Rogers' Australian visit, reported in a backpage paragraph that Australia and New Zealand voiced their support for the American conciliatory policy toward China.[74]
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> On Nov. 7, 1969, the United States suspended naval patrols in the Taiwan Strait, the first time for 19 years since the Korean War began in 1950.[75]

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[70] Nixon, *Memoirs*, pp. 394-395.

[71] *New York Times*, February 19, 1969.

[72] Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, pp. 221-222.

[73] Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 693.

[74] *New York Times*, August 9, 1969.

[75] *New York Times*, November 8, 1969.

> On Dec. 19, 1969, a far-reaching U.S. overture toward China partially lifted embargo on trade with China imposed since 1950. The hundred-dollar ceiling on the purchase of Chinese goods was lifted and the Commerce Department announced that foreign subsidiaries of American companies could trade in non-strategic goods with China.[76]

Thus in the first year, the Nixon administration had communicated with China by unilateral steps, foreign intermediaries, and public signals and declarations. Much of this got low-key treatment by the media, which were too preoccupied with the national furor over the Vietnam War.

Another U.S. step was to resuscitate the Sino-American talks in Warsaw, suspended in January 1968. On Sept. 9, Nixon and Kissinger summoned Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., the American Ambassador to Poland, and urged him to establish secret contact with the Chinese Ambassador in Warsaw.[77] Stoessel and Lei Yang, the Chinese Ambassador, met formally at the Chinese Embassy in Warsaw on Jan. 20, 1970.[78] For the first time, the Chinese side responded favorably to the long series of private and public signals and gestures from the United States.

The press coverage of the two Warsaw meetings in January and February of 1970 was generally favorable. In a major breakthrough in the second meeting. The United States mad explicit its willingness to withdraw its troops from Taiwan, and the Chinese leaders proposed the talks be moved to Beijing and said they would welcome a high-ranking official to head the delegation.[79]

Just two days before the second meeting, Nixon sent another significant signal by taking a serious public step in the China initiative when he sent the first Foreign Report to Congress, in which he devoted a special section to China, an unusual move by any President since the Communist takeover of China. The report said,

> The Chinese are a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community. In the long run, no stable and enduring international order is conceivable without the contribution of this nation of more than 700 million people . . .

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[76] *New York Times*, December 20, 1969.

[77] Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 188.

[78] *New York Times*, January 21, 1970.

[79] *New York Times*, February 21, 1970.

> The principles underlying our relations with Communist China are similar to those governing our policies toward the U.S.S.R. United States policy is not likely soon to have much impact on China's behavior, let alone its ideological outlook. But it is certainly in our interest, and in the interest of peace and stability in Asia and the world, that we take what steps we can toward improved practical relations with Peking. [80]

The significance of the language in the report, although ignored by most of the American media, was clearly understood by the Chinese. A third Chinese-U.S. meeting in the Warsaw talks had been scheduled for May 20, primarily to propose guidelines for a more serious exchange of views But twenty-four hours before the meeting, China canceled the session in protest of the U.S. invasion of Chinais neighbor, Cambodia, on April 30.[81] As a result of the breakdown in the Warsaw talks, Kissinger was able to get the State Department and Secretary of State Rogers out of his dealing with China. He wrote in *White House Years*, "The cancellation was providential for another reason. Our government was not simply ready to speak with a single voice . . . . The Warsaw talks never resumed, when we reestablished contact later in the year, it was in a different channel, with a sharper focus."[82]

The "different channel" referred to some third countries. In October 1970, when world leaders gathered in the United States to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, President Yahya Khan of Pakistan met on Oct. 25 with Nixon, who used the occasion to restate some ideas about China and activate the Pakistani channel. Nixon told the Pakistani President that he had decided to try to normalize relations with China and asked for his help as an intermediary.[83]

The next day President CeauÁescu of Romania met Nixon on a state visit and was accorded a warm reception on the White House lawn. That afternoon, according to their spokesmen, the two presidents discussed China. That evening, Nixon, while delivering a toast at a dinner honoring the Romanian President, said:

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[80] "United States Foreign Policy for the 1970s: A New Strategy for Peace," The President's Report to the Congress. In*Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index*. Volume 6 (1970), pp. 234-235.

[81] *New York Times*, May 19, 1971.

[82] Kissinger, White House Years, p. 693.

[83] Nixon, *Memoirs*, p. 546.

> It happens that in the world today because of the divisions, there are times when the leader of one nation does not have adequate communication with the leader of another. But as I was saying to the President earlier today, he is in a rather unique position. He heads a government which is one of the few in the world which has good relations with the United States, good relations with the Soviet Union, and good relations with the People's Republic of China.[84]

As the first time an American President had referred to the official name of China publicly since Mao's Communist revolution, this was a significant diplomatic signal. Most newsmen seem to have missed the significance of this phrasing, but Soviet Ambassador, who was at the banquet, telephoned Kissinger afterwards and asked for an explanation. Kissinger replied that it had no special meaning. Didn't the Russians call China the "People's Republic of China," Kissinger said on the phone, according to Marvin Kalb and Bernard Kalbis biographical account of Kissinger.[85]

In a September interview for *Time*, Nixon said that i(H)e hopes to improve relations with China. A dialogue, essential if Peking is ever to assume a normal world role, has begun." He further stressed that "If there is anything I want to do before I die, it is to go to China."[86] Nixon reiterated his intention in a press conference on Dec. 10, 1970, saying "(W)e are going to continue the initiative that I have begun, an initiative of relaxing trade restrictions and travel restrictions, and attempting to open channels of communication with Communist China, having in mind the fact that looking toward the future we must have some communication and eventually relations with Communist China."[87]

A new signal of the Chinese attitude came on China's National Day, Oct. 1, 1970, when Mao Tse-tung and radical American writer, Edgar Snow, stood side by side at a reviewing stand atop Tian'anmen Square in the ritual parade celebration. Snow was the first American ever permitted on the stand with Mao. Official photographs focused on these two old men clearly indicated that Mao had endorsed a new move toward Washington. China's official Xin Hua New Agency reported this story worldwide. Snow wrote later, "Something new was happening . . .

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[84] Exchange of Toasts Between President Nixon and President CeauÁescu at a Dinner Honoring the Romanian President. October 26, 1970. In*Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index.* Volume 6 (1970), p. 1462.

[85] Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, p. 233.

[86] *Time*, October 5, 1970, p. 12.

[87] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents. Annual Index.* Volume 6 (1970), p. 1655.

Nothing China's leaders do publicly is without purpose."[88] Still, Western media ignored this subtlety at the time. The *New York Times* had only a photo about the Chinese National Day celebration and a massive parade.[89]

On Dec. 18, Snow met for a private interview with Mao. In his book published in 1972, Snow said that Mao then disclosed to him that China had received "several urgent and authentically documented inquiries" from Nixon asking for a Presidential visit. "Mao would be happy to talk with him," Snow wrote, "either as a tourist, or a President . . . Mr. Nixon might send an envoy first, but was not himself likely to come to Peking before early 1972." "If you see him," Mao told Snow, "Tell him he's welcome."[90] Whether Snow relayed this message to Nixon immediately is not clear, but Nixon said in his 1978 memoirs that he learned of Mao's statement within a few days after it was made.[91] Snow published this interview in America in 1972.

Thus, by relying on the exchange of public signals and announcements on one hand and third-party intermediaries on the other, leaders in Washington and Beijing seem to have been able to maintain a somewhat efficient means of communication and hence to resolve critical issues to pave the way for the Nixon emissary in 1971. Following these signals and postures, the next few steps, the iPing Pong diplomacy,î Kissinger's visit, and the Presidential announcement seem to be natural developments of bilateral efforts.

1971: First Step on Friendly Soil

Efforts intensified at the White House to communicate with China -- both through secret channels and public policy announcements. Early in 1971, an important message reached Washington through Romania. After his conversation with Nixon in October 1970, CeauÁescu sent his Vice President to Beijing to meet with Chou En-lai, the Chinese premier, who said, "If the U.S. has the desire to settle the issue (of Taiwan) and a proposal for its solution, the P.R.C. will be prepared to receive a U.S. special envoy in Beijing."[92] Thus a Presidential envoy visit was broached for the first time, but further communication was delayed by the South Vietnamese invasion of Laos with the support of the U.S. air force. Because China shares a border with Laos, to avoid misunderstanding in Beijing, Nixon said in the news conference of February 17:

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[88] Edgar Snow, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 171-172.

[89] *New York Times*, October 2, 1970.

[90] Snow, *The Long Revolution*, pp. 1-3.

[91] Nixon, *Memoirs*, .p. 547.

[92] Ibid., p. 547.

> As far as the actions in southern Laos are concerned, they present no threat to Communist China and should not be interpreted by the Communist Chinese as being a threat against them. . . . (T)his action is not directed against Communist China. It is directed against the North Vietnamese who are pointed toward South Vietnam and toward Cambodia. Consequently, I do not believe that the Communist Chinese have any reason to interpret this as a threat against them or any reason therefore to react to it.[93]

On Feb. 25, 1971, Nixon submitted to Congress his second Foreign Policy Report, in which a section dealing with China reiterated his desire to improve relations and reflected the eventuality of Beijing's admission to the United Nations. The Report read:

> The twenty-four year old hostility between ourselves and the People's Republic of China is another unresolved problem, serious indeed in view of the fact that it determines our relationship with 750 million talented and energetic people . . . There will be no more important challenge of drawing the People's Republic of China into a constructive relationship with the world community . . . In that connection, I wish to make it clear that the United States is prepared to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations. . .
>
> The past four years have been a period of internal turmoil and upheaval in Mainland China . . . There could be new opportunities for the People's Republic of China to explore the path of normalization of its relations with its neighbors and with the world, including our own country. . .
>
> In the coming year, I will carefully examine what future steps we might take to create broader opportunities for contacts between the Chinese and American peoples, and how we might remove needless obstacles to the realization of these opportunities. We hope for, but will not be deterred by the lack of, reciprocity.[94]

For the first time, an American official document referred to the People's Republic of China by its official name, a step too important to be neglected by journalists. The clear language in the report could create no misinterpretation of Nixon's intention. Indeed, a *New York Times* report gave special prominence to this change in designation of China in a Presidential document.[95] At the same time, the United States continued easing restrictions on trade with China. On March 15, the State Department disclosed the President's decision to terminate all restrictions on the use of U.S. passports to travel to China.

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[93] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index.* Volume 7 (1971), p. 237.

[94] United States Foreign Policy for the 1970s: Building for Peace. In ibid., pp. 338-340.

[95] *New York Times*, February 26, 1971.

While Nixon and Kissinger took quiet actions that would lead to a historic breakthrough, the Chinese went dramatically public. On April 6, toward the finale of an international Ping Pong competition in Nagoya, Japan, the Chinese team invited the American team to visit China for several exhibition matches. The approval from Washington to accept the invitation was a resounding "Yes."[96] On April 10, nine Ping-Pong players, four officials, two wives and three journalists became the first official U.S. delegation to set foot in the ancient land since 1949.

On April 14, Chou En-lai met the American delegation in the Great Hall of the People, with a message clearly meant to be heard beyond the reception room of the majestic Great Hall: "You have opened a new page in the relation of the Chinese and American people. I am confident that this beginning again of our friendship will certainly meet with majority support of our two peoples."[97] The Americans did not hesitate in reciprocating by inviting a Chinese Ping-Pong team to tour the United States, an invitation readily accepted.

Within a few hours of Chou's remarks in the Great Hall of the People on April 14, Nixon gave his own signal by announcing a further easing of trade and travel restrictions with China: the twenty-one-year-old embargo on U.S. trade with China was completely released; visas for Chinese wishing to visit the U.S. would be expedited; currency controls were loosened to enable China to pay imports in U.S. dollars; American oil companies would be allowed to sell fuels to ships and planes going in and out of China; American-owned foreign ships would be permitted to dock in Chinese ports.[98]

On April 16, 1971, Nixon, in an important statement to the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington, D. C., said that his long-term goals included "a normalization of the relations between the government of the United States and the government of the People's Republic of China." He also said that he had advised his daughters to visit China and significantly added, "As a matter of fact, I hope I do. I am not sure that it is going to happen while I am in office."[99] Unmistakably, that suggested that Nixon hoped he might go to China. At a news conference on April 29, Nixon again expressed his hope -- "a hope and expectation that at some time in my life and in some capacity, . . . that I would be able to go to Mainland China."[100] There is no more public place than a presidential press conference to express a wish which will reach the U.S. populace and the other side of the world.

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[96] Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, p. 239.

[97] *New York Times*, April 15, 1971.

[98] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index*. Volume 7 (1971), pp. 628-629.

About the same time, the *Life* magazine issue containing Edgar Snow's interview with Mao Tse-tung in December 1970 was available on the American newsstands.[101] In the article, Snow revealed the role of de Gaulle in the U.S.-China dialogues and quoted an "unimpeachable diplomatic source (but not Mao)" as saying that "the White House had once more conveyed a message asking how a personal representative of the President would be received in the Chinese capital for conversations with the highest Chinese leaders" not long before his departure from Peking in February.[102] Now it was public that Mao would welcome Nixon to Beijing.

In April 1971, having not got any message from Beijing through third-party channels for six weeks, Nixon and Kissinger decided to approach the Chinese directly by sending a courier to Paris with a letter for the American Ambassador there to deliver to the Chinese Ambassador. The letter, however, was never delivered. While it was still en route, an important message arrived from Chou En-lai via the Pakistani channel inviting a special envoy of the U.S. President to Beijing, something both Nixon and Kissinger had been anxiously awaiting. A few days later, Kissinger began his serious preparation for his 1971 historical trip to Beijing.

On May 31, another message reached the White House: a long message from Beijing was on its way by courier from Pakistan. After two days, Kissinger hurried to Nixon with Chou's note to Nixon, which read:

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[99] Ibid., pl 637.

[100] Ibid., p. 701.

[101] In the article, Snow disclosed that he was only able to confirm recently with Mao that he did not object to the publication of the interview and of his comments without using direct quotation. The article, "A Conversation with Mao Tse-tung," was published on the April 30 issue of *Life* magazine in 1971, together with some stories about the Ping-Pong trip and other China-related news.

[102] Edgar Snow, "A Conversation with Mao Tse-tung," *Life*, April 30, 1971, p. 47.

> Premier Chou En-lai has seriously studied President Nixon's message of April 29, May 17, 1971, and has reported with much pleasure to Chairman Mao Tse-tung that President Nixon is prepared to accept his suggestion to visit Peking for direct conversations with the leaders of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has indicated that he welcomes President Nixon's visit and looks forward to that occasion when he may have direct conversations with His Excellency the President, in which each side would be free to raise the principal issue of concern to it . . .
>
> Premier Chou En-lai welcomes Dr. Kissinger to China as the U.S. representative who will come in advance for a preliminary secret meeting with high level Chinese officials to prepare and make necessary arrangements for President Nixon's visit to Peking.[103]

The message, which Nixon said was "the most important communication that has come to an American President since the end of World War II,"[104] eliminated the last barriers for Kissinger's trip to Beijing.

Kissinger left Washington on July 1 with an itinerary taking him to Saigon, Bangkok and New Delhi before reaching Islamabad, where he would feign a stomach upset and purport to spend two days in bed. During his scheduled "illness" period, he would fly to Beijing and lay the ground work for a historic diplomatic breakthrough with Chou En-lai.[105]

Kissinger's expedition was unusual because he had to avoid the media spotlight any top official normally got. Kissinger left Andrews Air Force Base near Washington on the evening of July 1 and appeared in Saigon two days later. His talks with President Thieu of South Vietnam and Ambassador Bunker were closely followed by the press, which reported matter-of-factly that Kissinger's trip was a new initiative to get out of the Vietnam War. Kissinger's moves were dutifully tracked by the media -- he got a front-page story in the *New York Times*[106] and a major television story on the CBS evening news with Walter Cronkite.[107] The press corps became smaller when Kissinger arrived in Bangkok a day later, on July 4. He received coverage only in a short story but no front page attention in the *New York Times*.[108] He was all smiles but no words with the news men. Antiwar demonstrators in his next stop, New Delhi, created a moment of excitement on July 6, which made a story in an inconspicuous section of the *New York Times*.[109] When Kissinger got to Islamabad on July 8, on journalists seemed to notice him, and when he appeared in Paris, the last stop of his trip, on July 12, the media focus on Vietnam resumed. Describing his strategy at the time, Kissinger recalled later, "I had brought the press to tears, having six appointments a day, every day, and never saying a word. They had to stand there in that heat watching me go in, come out, and never saying anything. By the time I hit Islamabad, there were only three newsmen left."[110]

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[103] Kissinger, *White House Years*, pp. 726-727.

[104] Nixon, *The Memoirs*, p. 550.

[105] A detailed, excellent account of Kissinger's account can be found in Kissinger, *White House Years*, pp. 733-755. See also, Walter Isaacscon, *Kissinger: A Biography* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), pp. 343-349; and Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, pp. 237-255.

[106] *New York Times*, July 4, 1971.

[107] Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, p. 243.

Just three days before Kissinger's arrival in Beijing, Nixon gave his last-minute signals to the Chinese to make clear the U.S. intentions when he gave an outline of the reasons for approaching China to assembled journalists at the Presidential media briefing in Kansas on July 6. He told the news corps:

> The goal of U.S. policy must be in the long term ending the isolation of Mainland China and a normalization of our relations with Mainland China . . . Mainland China outside the world community completely with its leaders not in communication with world leaders, would be a danger to the whole world that would be unacceptable. So consequently this step must be taken now.[111]

Nixon's speech received low-key treatment by the mass media, and the last chance to prepare the public for the breaking announcement was thus lost. The editors, especially of the big papers, saw the briefing as not worth covering, according to H. R. Haldeman.[112] It was different in Beijing. On July 10, during his meeting with Kissinger, Chou En-lai asked detailed questions of the embarrassed National Security Adviser of the Nixon administration, who knew nothing about the speech.[113]

Back in Pakistan, even Kissinger marveled at the level of security maintained after his successful trip to Beijing, "enveloped by Mao's collected works and Chinese photo albums."[114] Kissinger may have concluded right when he remarked in *White House Years*, "Perhaps security works best with undertakings no one thinks possible."[115]

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[108] *New York Times*, July 5, 1971.

[109] New York Times, July 7, 1971.

[110] Kalb & Kalb, *Kissinger*, p. 243.

[111] *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents: Annual Index*. Volume 7 (1971), p. 1036.

[112] Haldeman, *The Hademan Diaries* , p. 315.

[113] Kissinger, *White House Years*, p. 748.

Kissinger arrived in California on the morning of July 13 and spent most time of the next two days working with Nixon, Haldeman and Rogers amidst anxiety and excitement as they orchestrated the dramatic televised Presidential announcement which the surprised the world on July 15, 1971.

Mass Media During the Nixon Presidency: What Were They Doing?

The legacies Nixon inherited from his predecessor, Lyndson Johnson, were not at all encouraging - widespread black civil rights activities and violence, mounting public antagonism to an entrenched and undeclared war in Vietnam, prevalent distrust of government officials and sources, nationwide campus anti-war protests, and above all, the resulting strife that shattered the nation. By the time Nixon was inaugurated, the press was already leading the nation in becoming more critical and outspoken in their dissent from the government policies of fighting an undeclared and unwinnable war in Vietnam.[116] The media focus on the war continued until it ended in 1975 with the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops. Most media space and headlines concentrated on the Vietnam War in that period, with coverage of policy announcements, anti-war demonstrations, the Paris talks, and later, the brutality and inhumanity of the war with the exposure of the My Lai atrocities by the free-lance reporter Seymour Hersh in November 1969.[117]

At the same time, Nixon began planning his secret bombing campaign against Cambodia early in 1969, which started in March with American B-52s bombing the Cambodian countryside. This escalated into a ground war when Nixon appeared on nationwide television on a year later April 30 to announce the ground invasion of Cambodia. At the same time, anti-war events reached their climax with student protest ending in the tragic shooting of students. All these became the foci of media coverage.[118]

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[114] Ibid., p. 155.

[115] Ibid., p. 755.

[116] For an excellent study of the media coverage of the Vietnam War, see Daniel. C. Hallin, *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), and Edward Jay Epstein, *News from Nowhere* (New York: Random House, 1973).

[117] See Seymour Hersh, *May Lai 4* (New York: Random House, 1970).

After studying network news reporting at that time, Edward Jay Epstein concludes that news was ìnationalizedî by selecting and categorizing events and related them to each other. This was summarized well by the executive producer of the ABC Evening News: "I believe in 'packaging' news stories into segments, ending each segment with a commercial."[119] Thus, news producers stressed certain constant themes by selectively covering planned events, and they reconstructed and integrated those stories into programs reflecting similar perspectives on individual stories. As Epstein persuasively argues in his book, the pattern persisted in the reporting of domestic and international news, including China-related stories. As a result, news out of tune with these persistent themes was either deemphasized, marginalized or not covered at all.

In the Nixon years, although the spirit of McCarthyism was waning, the continuing cold war legacy was manifested in mass media coverage of world affairs.[120] A Communist threat was the prevailing thesis, and the U.S.-Soviet arms control negotiations and the Middle East crisis shared the media coverage with the Vietnam War. The media inattention to Nixon's China initiative might be accounted for by the easy availability and predictability of events in the above areas.

The culmination of Nixon administration's effort to break the thaw in U.S.-China relations was paralleled by yet another major development that profoundly shaped American journalism history -- the Pentagon Papers case.[121] The discussions, debates, court rulings and eventual publication of the Pentagon Papers thus outshadowed news developments in the subtle efforts of U.S.-China negotiations.

After the Communist takeover of China in 1949, China was depicted by the American media as an "evil" and "bellicose" Communist regime in the heyday of McCarthyism and this continued in the 1960s when Cold War ideology dominated U.S. politics and the mass media. The media were invariably consistent in projecting communist China as a potential threat to the world and the reporting was negative, cynical, and unfavorable. It was considered leftist to hold a noncondemnatory view of Communist China. The Nixon announcement that he would visit China marked a dramatic turning point in the media presentation of China, which began to be romanticized as a utopia of egalitarianism and an attractive Oriental mysterious land.[122] A *Newsweek* reporter's favorable account of China after the announcement was typical, "I realize that I have walked the darkest streets by night unafraid and left my hotel room unlocked without fearing for my possession. I have not tipped a hotel employee or seen a beggar, a drunkard or a litterbug in the streets."[123] This change in the media images of China was explained, aptly, in *Newsweek* this way, "It is not so much that China has changed, but the mind and the mood of the U.S."[124]

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[118] See, for example, Nicholas O. Berry, *Foreign Policy and the Press: An Analysis of the New York Times' Coverage of U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 53-80.

[119] Epstein, *News From Nowhere*, p. 243.

[120] James Aronson, *The Press and the Cold War* (New York: Montly Review Press, 1990).

[121] Russ Braley, *Bad News: The Foreign Policy of the New York Times* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1984).

Conclusion

Despite repeated denials by Nixon and his White House staff, changes were under way in Nixon's China policy from Nixon's *Foreign Affairs* article to his Presidential campaign and to his presidency, as Nixon intensified efforts at communicating his intentions of dÈtente with China to the Chinese side and the American public through public announcements, signals, and secret third-party intermediaries. However determined Nixon was in dealing with China, he believed that there would be few agreements to sign in public without negotiations in secrecy. His memo to Kissinger in the second week after his Inauguration reveals the tone for his two-year-long secret communication with the Chinese paralleled with public signals and policy announcements. By communicating with the Chinese through intermediaries on one hand, and public announcements and postures on the other hand, the Nixon administration succeeded in issuing signals to the public when he deemed necessary about the major policy shifts; but all this was done in such a way that the administration could control the flow of information and had alternative paths of retreat when necessary. This research shows a persistent pattern which made Nixon's last step, a Presidential trip to China, seem a natural development.

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[122] Harry Harding, ìFrom China, With Disdain: New Trends in the Study of China,î *Asian Survey*, 22 (1982), pp. 934-958; Richard Berstein, *From the Center of the Earth: The Search for the Truth about China* (Boston: Little Brown, 1982), Fox Butterfield, *China: Alive in the Bitter Sea* (New York: Times Books, 1982).

[123] ìA Chinese Diary,î *Newsweek*, March 6, 1972, pp. 24-25.

[124] *Newsweek*, February 21, 1973, p. 53.

The significance of the White House moves received low-key coverage from the Washington press corps, who, preoccupied with the Vietnam War and other issues they deemed newsworthy, were unable to imagine that Richard Nixon, once the cold war warrior and one of the founders of the "Who Lost China Club," would consider visiting Beijing, the communist stronghold. The Nixon Presidency, by controlling the flow and source of information in communicating with China, earned a niche in modern U.S. history in perfecting techniques and strategies of manipulating mass media by the Presidents of the United States.

PASSION AND REASON: MISSISSIPPI NEWSPAPER WRITINGS OF THE SECESSION CRISIS, 1860-1861

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PASSION AND REASON: MISSISSIPPI NEWSPAPER WRITINGS OF THE SECESSION CRISIS, 1860-1861

For 130 years, historians and writers have presented a view that pro-secession forces achieved hegemony in the South just before the Civil War. However, an examination of the newspapers of Mississippi, the second state to secede, shows a lively discussion on what course the state should take in response to Abraham Lincoln's election. Although the state had its share of fire-eating, pro-secessionist editors, it also featured other editors who advocated alternatives to immediate secession.

In the months before the outbreak of the Civil War, Mississippi was located in the "storm center of secession,"[1] and its newspapers played a major role in providing impetus for the upheaval. Newspapers were the only locally-originated, regularly-distributed and mass-produced publications of the day in 1860 and 1861, providing a significant forum for political debate on secession. Because the men who decided Mississippi's fate at the 1861 secession convention left very few records of their deliberations, newspapers provide a relevant source of public discourse from the crisis.

On January 9, 1861, the third day of its secession convention, Mississippi became the second state to secede from the United States of America. This set in motion a series of events that would prove disastrous for Mississippians. Former governor James Lusk Alcorn, a delegate to the secession convention who first opposed but later supported secession, described the crisis: "(Mississippi) was hurled from its seat of prosperous repose and unquestioned power into the embrace of causeless, cruel, and bloody war."[2] Secession came as a direct response to the election of Abraham Lincoln who believed, as he stated in his often quoted "house divided" speech to the Illinois Republican Convention in 1858, that the Union must be "all slave or all free." Mississippi voters went to the polls to choose delegates for the secession convention on December 20, 1860, the same day that South Carolina's delegation voted unanimously to leave the Union. For 20 days, South Carolina stood alone as the only secessionist state while Mississippians debated their own course. Mississippi's position on secession at this time was far from clear: 60 percent of the voters who cast ballots in the November presidential election went to the polls on December 20.[3] And though the potential convention delegates were not required to state their position on secession, anti-secessionists ran for election in 34 of Mississippi's 60 counties.[4]

How did Mississippi decide to leave the Union? The answer seems as elusive today as it did when Woods issued the challenge for the impartial judgment of succeeding generations. Scholars have concluded that the answer lies somewhere in a suppression of free speech that took hold in the antebellum South. For example, legal scholar Paul Chevigny charges that freedom of speech in the South in the days leading up to the Civil War may have been severely compromised.[5] Historian Donald Kelley makes a similar charge: "Failure to discuss issues or evaluate differences caused a growing estrangement between North and South.. .residents of (Mississippi) gradually lost contact with the mood, the thought, the temper of their Northern counterparts."[6] Even journalism scholars make the assumption that a free speech problem existed in the Deep South. The First Amendment Book, published during the Constitution's bicentennial by the American Society of Newspaper Editors, makes an alarming charge against the antebellum South: "Press and speech freedom were problems only in the North. In the South there was a consensus among the newspapers and the populace as to the right of the course being pursued."[7]

Such statements form the fabric of myths that are long-enduring even in the face of conflicting evidence. The South had dozens of regularly-published newspapers just before the Civil War; Mississippi alone had thirty. To assume all Southern newspapers came to a general agreement and took a united position on such complex issues as slavery, states' rights and secession overstates historical dynamics.

The Literature

Libraries are full of explanations for the Civil War, and a brief examination of the secondary sources written about the secession crisis reveals the myriad of historical interpretations of the period. One of the best-detailed is David Potter's The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861,[8] published after his death in 1976. Potter begins with the Mexican War and ends with Fort Sumter. At the heart of Potter's work is an important admonition for readers to remember that most Americans of the 1850s did not realize there was a disaster coming. For this research, Potter's account of the newspaper demand for a re-opening of the African Slave Trade is important. Potter explains that Southern editors meant to be preposterous in responding to abolitionist demands, and that the proposal never amounted to anything other than one favorable vote in the Louisiana House of Representatives.

Two books in Louisiana State University's History of the South series use newspapers as primary sources to chronicle political trends in the antebellum South. In The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848,[9] Charles Sydnor sees two main causes for the rise of sectionalism in the South: the decline of Virginia as the South's political center and the increasingly closed mind of John C. Calhoun. A third minor theme is the growing identity of the

South in its creative channels, such as writing, and in its stable labor system. But Sydnor admits an important point: it is impossible for twentieth century historians to determine whether the South's yeoman farmer class, which was in the majority, really wanted to support the hegemony achieved by rich plantation owners, who were in the minority. Avery Craven's The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861[10] argues that reason and logic were ignored in the South as the emotionalism of the fire-eaters caught hold. In fact, Craven asserts that emotionalism must dominate the political process if wars are to begin anywhere.

There are three excellent histories of the Mississippi secession crisis. The oldest is Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1855-1861, by Percy Lee Rainwater, a long-time professor of history at the University of Mississippi. Using mainly newspaper sources, Rainwater paints a step-by-step picture of how secession happened in Mississippi, from support for abolition in the 1820s to overwhelming support for slavery and abhorrence of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. He also uses the official record of the Secession Convention as a primary source; despite being written by Jackson Daily News publishers J.L. Power and J.B. Cadwallader, the record is very sketchy and must be augmented by other primary sources to achieve an accurate understanding of the work of the convention.

The second and third records of Mississippi's secession appear in two works by Ralph Wooster.[11] Wooster also uses newspapers as primary sources, and adds to that personal information about the make-up of the secession conventions obtained from the United States Census. Wooster questions the possibility of a pro-secession conspiracy in the South in 1860-1861. He concludes that there was none.

Two journal articles provide interpretations of Mississippi's secession decision. Rainwater asserts that many Mississippians believed mistakenly that the North was growing wealthy because Congress passed laws to help Northern trade and to hinder the economy of the South. The abolitionist movement only heightened this view, in Rainwater's opinion.[12] And D.B. Kelley uses Mississippi and other Southern newspapers of the late 1850s and early 1860s to demonstrate that the early secession movement was suspicion of the North created by Mississippians themselves. Kelley believes that, as a result, Mississippians misinterpreted the election of Lincoln as a sign of the impending end of slavery.[13]

Two rather old histories of Mississippi, both produced under the auspices of the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, provide valuable essential information about the state during the secession crisis. Dunbar Rowland's History of Mississippi: Heart of the South, published in 1925, has a glorifying tone in its accounts of the secession convention. For example, convention members are described as "gifted," "able," or "prominent." Mississippi in the Confederacy: As They Saw It,[14] edited by John Bettersworth, has a more objective presentation of opinions on both sides of the secession argument without using superlative adjectives to describe the men and their actions.

Journalism historians have produced major works on the Southern press during the secession crisis, and while none focuses on Mississippi exclusively, they do provide a sense of newspaper reporting at the time. Also, since so many Southern newspapers shared articles, the information about the press in all Southern states is important. Noteworthy are Editors Make War written by Donald Reynolds in 1966[15] and The South Reports the Civil War written by J. Cutler Andrews in 1970.[16] A collection of written opinions, Southern Editorials on Secession, edited by Dwight Dumond in 1931,[17] is a record of the reaction of editors in Southern cities to the election of 1860. One of the most recent works on Nineteenth Century Southern journalism is by Carl R. Osthaus who chronicles the rise of the sectional press after 1840 and closely examines the debate over secession led by the fire-eating Charleston (S.C.) Mercury and its rival, the union-leaning Charleston Daily Courier.

Most of the primary sources come from the extensive newspaper files on microfilm at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in Jackson. Unfortunately, many of the newspapers from the secession crisis were microfilmed long after their prime and some are illegible. Others are no longer available at all. Still, enough of the pages are preserved to provide many examples of the newspaper writing during Mississippi's secession debate. Half of the thirty newspapers published in Mississippi in 1860 are extant in 1999.

"Like the Dentist's Fingers": Mississippi Newspapers Deal with Secession

Mississippi's newspapers divided their support among three candidates in the presidential election of 1860: Northern Democrat Stephen A. Douglas, Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge, and Constitutional Union party candidate John Bell. The Constutional Union was a new party in 1860 with only one stated purpose: to rely on the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution. On election day, however, it was Abraham Lincoln who won with his impressive support in the North; he carried all of the free states except New Jersey.

The news of Lincoln's election hit Mississippians like a thunderbolt, but the shock trickled in rather than striking suddenly. Hand-counting paper ballots is a slow way of counting votes, but it was the only method available to nineteenth-century Americans. After local votes were tallied, newspapers disseminated the information by telegraph, rail, and the post, with the telegraph the only method providing instantaneous communication from one point to another. Six days after the election, the Natchez Free Trader complained about the slowness of the incoming election returns, but was able to provide its readers with one indisputable fact: Lincoln, a sectional candidate from a sectional party, won the election. The Vicksburg Citizen saw Lincoln's supporters as an evil band of villains: "The precipitators seem to have succeeded in their deep laid, well concocted, and ruthlessly prosecuted schemes. Lincoln, at the present writing, seems to have been elected by the sectional vote of the North."[18]

Once the election news had been gathered, there was a more urgent, graver question to answer. Mississippi and the rest of the slave states had to decide how to respond to the election of a Northern abolitionist. The Oxford Intelligencer posed the question in a headline: "What shall be done!"[19] If the Intelligencer's account was accurate, all Mississippians were asking the question. "This question," the Intelligencer wrote, "like the dentist's fingers, is in everybody's mouth; and as is generally the case when a crowd has gathered around a sick horse, every man is ready with a response."[20]

Responses were rarer in Mississippi newspapers, however. All were willing to express shock over Lincoln's election, but there were few recommendations on a future course for the state. The Aberdeen Sunny South demonstrated its confusion with a headline: "The Union Dissolved(?)"[21] Elsewhere, the Sunny South ran an account from the Charleston (South Carolina) Mercury stating that the news of Lincoln's election had been greeted with "cheering for a Southern

Confederacy."[22] The South Carolina legislature had called for a special state convention and had ordered a reorganization of the militia to prepare for the state's defense. Unfortunately, the November 8, 1860, edition of the Sunny South is the last extant copy of the newspaper from the secession crisis so its official position on secession cannot be determined.

The same problem exists with the Lexington Advertiser. The last extant copy from the secession crisis is November 9, 1860, the edition issued immediately after the election. The Advertiser lamented the situation, called for cool heads but stopped short of advocating any position:

> Whatever the result of last Tuesday's election may be, it behooves the people to act deliberately and calmly in any step they may take. . . If necessity imperatively required that the South should secede from this Union, and that a civil war should be entered into, let it be done by a free and impartial determination of the people. Do not let a few ambitious demagogues control the destiny of a great country like this.[23]

Since the Advertiser had established itself as a Constitutional Union organ, it was most likely adopting a unionist stance as Mississippi's secession decision drew near, but it cannot be assumed with any certainty.

There was one notable exception to the tenative tone of Mississippi newspapers. The post-election edition of Barksdale's Mississippian had a well-planned quality and featured several articles advocating Mississippi's immediate secession. The newspaper's writing, which featured strong language in support of Southern Democrat John Breckinridge, now took on a sense of urgency. On page one, under the masthead, the Mississippian headlined its position: "The deed is done--disunion is the remedy." To the Mississippian, the election was an outrage, and both Lincoln and his running mate Hannibal Hamlin were fanatics. Worse yet, in the Mississippian's view, Hamlin was not completely Caucasian: "Both (are) bigoted, unscrupulous and cold-blooded enemies of the peace and equality of the slaveholding States, and one of the pair strongly marked with the blood of his negro ancestry."[24] This was the "day of disunion" George Washington spoke about in his farewell address, the Mississippian told its readers. Allegiance to the government was no longer required of Mississippians: "It is folly to say that the Federal Government, administered by a party coming into power with no other but hostile aims against the slaveholding States, is entitled to their respect or to the obedience of its citizens."[25] In the next column, the Mississippian predicted secession and laid out the reasons why the decision must be immediate. The reasons originated in the Charleston Mercury but, according to the Mississippian, they were just as applicable in Mississippi. First, Mississippi needed to secede before the year's cotton harvest went to market since people in the North needed the Southern crop. Second, any governmental changes should be immediate so as not to cause concern about the finances of the South. Third, any delay would inspire the confidence of the enemies of the South. Fourth, secession should take place under the current administration and before Lincoln took office on March 4, 1861 (the Mississippian does not explain this reasoning. Fifth, secession should take place under the present Congress (again, there is no explanation for this reasoning).[26] Though most of the Mississippian's appeal was designed to attract the reason of Mississippi voters, the newspaper concluded with a direct assault on the emotions of its readers: "Calmly, then, but with resolute purpose to do our whole duty, let us look the crisis which is upon us full in the face. We cannot avoid it. To delay is to increase tenfold the perils of the path which the stern requirements of patriotism demand that we should take."[27] In case there was any doubt as to the gravity of the situation, the Mississippian informed its readers that companies of "Minute Men" were forming: "Strong remedies may be required, but the issues involve consequences of vast magnitude, and the remedy must be proportionate to the disease. 'Minute Men' now is the time for organization. Act promptly. Act now. Act without a moments delay."[28] In another section of the newspaper, however, the Mississippian assured its readers that war was not imminent. "The U.S. army consists of but twenty thousand men at most, and they are scattered along the western Frontier chiefly," the Mississippian wrote. "Why, Lincoln could not control this little establishment of an army against us if he would."[29]

The Mississippian endorsed immediate secession on the same day, November 14, that Governor Pettus called for a special session of the legislature to meet on November 26. The next edition of the Free Trader made the same endorsement, but with a sense of sadness: "Now is the Winter of our discontent. Politically, we are used up."[30] The Mississippian and the Free Trader had been Breckinridge newspapers, so it is not surprising that their responses to Lincoln's election were similar. The real question lay with the Douglas organ, the Vicksburg Citizen. On election night, Douglas tried and failed to get the editor of the Mobile Register to postpone calling for the secession of Alabama.[31] The Douglas-supporting Citizen took a softer though ambiguous line. Under the headline "Revolution," the Citizen wrote: "The South will secede unless the North recedes. Let action be taken at once."[32] But the action called for was not immediate secession, but rather an effort on the part of the North to stop disunion. "Let the people vote directly upon the issue now presented,"[33] wrote the Citizen. The issue was "whether the North shall insist upon an anti-slavery interpretation of the Constitution, or whether the South shall have new guarantees of good faith and a complete, abnegation of all interference with slavery under any pretense whatever on the part of the North."[34] The plan the Citizen endorsed was a plot to stop planting cotton for a year, turn the fields over to food crops for Southern consumption and put a hardship on the textile mills in the North and in England.

Battle Lines

From the start, the Mississippian and the Free Trader had formidable adversaries in the Natchez Courier and the Vicksburg Whig. Extant editions of the Natchez Courier begin in January 1861, but the file of existing copies of the Vicksburg Whig continues, fortunately, throughout the secession crisis. The Whig wrote against secession as quickly as the Mississippian supported it. The Whig also decried the secession sentiment in South Carolina: "It appears fanaticism is about to do its worst. Our heart sickens at the rashness of a misguided and demagogue-ridden commonwealth."[35]

On page three, the Whig made its strongest statement against secession in a position usually reserved for its political endorsements. The symbol of an American Flag was followed with what the Whig called its motto: "We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union."[36] Though the motto had the appearance of a permanent addition to the newspaper, it did not appear again. However, the flag symbol was a frequent feature of the secession crisis editions of the Whig. The November 21 edition had these words above the flag symbol: "The Union must and shall be preserved."[37]

The special session of the Mississippi legislature met on November 24 and called for a special convention to meet on January 7. An election for delegates to the convention would be held on December 20.[38] The South Carolina legislature had called for a special convention to begin meeting on December 17.[39] The Georgia legislature had done the same, with its convention scheduled to meet on January 16.[40] For an information distribution system depending on boat, rail, and telegraph, Mississippi newspapers made a valiant effort to keep their readers informed about reactions to Lincoln's election. There was another task for the newspapers as well: promoting their own version of the proper response to the Republican victory. The December 20 election day would be the first test of the strength of their arguments.

The Mississippian Versus The Whig

The last days of November were marked by an argument between the pro-secession Mississippian and the unionist Whig over the right of a state to secede. On November 21, the Mississippian wrote that secession was the only acceptable response to Lincoln's election, and that secession was a legal remedy. At the end of the Revolutionary War, the Mississippian contended, "Each of the States mutually acknowledged the separate and independent sovereignty of the other."[41] The argument continued: "As separate States they joined this confederacy, and some of them to make assurance doubly sure, in so many words joined upon the condition of their right to withdraw. The other recognizing this right as clearly deducible from the nature of the compact, received them upon that condition."[42] The Mississippian concluded, "Let us take our own rights and institutions in our own keeping. There is safety in no other course."[43]

The Whig accused Barksdale of lying. It argued that no state had joined the Union under the condition of leaving when they pleased.

> We say it, without fear of contradiction, and it is indeed what every attentive reader of history must know to be the truth, that not a single State joined the Union upon any such condition, and indeed upon any condition of any kind. In advocating the right of secession, let the State organ state the facts. We hope it will correct its statement on this point, or else point out the page of

history that records the event which we say never occurred.[44]

The Mississippian's next edition counter-attacked, writing that the Whig desired to "conceal the enormity of Black Republican crimes against the Constitution." The Mississippian accused the Whig of trying to convince Mississippians that they "live under a consolidated government of unlimited power." It called the Whig's rebuff "quite a lecture in the Sir Oracle style." The Mississippian then, in two different columns, defended its position by quoting from the Constitution ratification statements made by Virginia and New York. The Virginia document stated that the state would resume powers delegated to the federal government "whenever the same shall be perverted to her injury or oppression."[45] The New York document was quoted in this way: "That the powers of the Government may be re-assumed by the people whenever it may become necessary to their happiness."[46] Such a strong response to criticism was a characteristic of Barksdale's personality. While he was an able writer and a sharp thinker, Barksdale attacked his opponents with such force that he became a man difficult to like.

Countdown to Decision

There were only 24 days from the time of the calling of the special state convention to the election of delegates, and Mississippi newspapers redoubled their efforts to make their points before the convention convened. Though candidates for the election did not have to state their positions on secession, many did. But there was an air of confusion since so little time had passed since the presidential election. Mississippi newspapers could not invent party affiliations that would apply to large groups, so inexact terms such as Secessionist, Separate-State Action, Immediate Secessionist, Southern Rights and Unionist were applied. A plethora of political affiliations and parties was claimed by delegates to the Secession Convention; one delegate, Edward F. McGehee of Panola County, listed his political affiliation as "Extremely and intensely Southern."[47]

Barksdale's Mississippian endorsed Wiley P. Harris, Warren P. Anderson, and W.B. Smart as delegates to the convention. All were elected. On the other end of the political spectrum, the Whig's picks for the convention, Walter Brooke and T.A. Marshall, were also elected. Other newspapers made endorsements, too, based on their perception of how the candidates would vote on the secession issue. But the issue itself rather than the candidates got the newspapers' attention during the December days, and though Mississippians had just finished with one political campaign complete with rallies and speeches, they seemed ready for another.

Barksdale was in his best form, confident of victory for the secessionists. "It is now a significant, gratifying and cheering fact, that there is no party, nor scarcely a semblance of a faction in Mississippi, which opposes disunion and the formation of a Southern Confederacy,"[48] the Mississippian wrote. Barksdale dismissed the opposition: "The idea of 'saving the Union' has been abandoned by almost everybody in Mississippi, and the idea of 'saving the South' has been enthusiastically embraced. Starting from a standpoint like that, we must all, in the end, reach the same goal, although we may not travel the same road. All hail this glorious era."[49]

In the days leading up to the state convention election, Mississippi newspapers clarified their positions on the secession issue. Those rabid fire-eaters, such as the Mississippian, called for separate state action, meaning that each Southern state would secede from the Union individually to demonstrate its outrage over Lincoln's election. Those newspapers endorsing unionism called for delay and ultimately cooperation, meaning the Southern states would meet in convention and take action together, possibly seceding as a group. Even a staunchly Union newspaper like the Whig tried to help readers understand the two positions: "Every man styled a Union man in the State is a co-operationist. They believe that the South ought to assemble and unitedly demand an acknowledgement of her rights, and a guarantee of their concession. There is another party which favors the doctrine of separate State secession."[50] The Whig wanted the legislature to find out what the people of Mississippi wanted, and it lamented that the state convention had been called so hastily and feared that the convention's members might act out of excitement.

In the one extant edition of the Brandon Republican is a statement outlining the position of the state cooperationists. "Secession is not the remedy,"[51] the Republican wrote as it called for a Southern convention. "The united voice of the people of the south shall be a supreme command to us, and we are willing now, as heretofore, to pledge ourselves to whatever it may be,"[52] the

Republican promised. The benefits, in the newspaper's view, were numerous: "The whole South would make a respectable government, able and willing to protect itself against any adversary. In extent, it would be an empire; in population, it would be three times as large as the colonies were when our fathers struck for liberty and struck successfully."[53] The Republican believed separate secession by Mississippi was the road to ruin for the South:

> Secession can give neither effectual resistance nor strength, nor safety, nor union, nor stability, nor respectability. We would present the miserable spectacle of a weak and imbecile power, without an army or a navy, without population or territory, large enough to command respect. We would be kicked and cuffed like the little government of Genoa, and hectored over by every strong power on the face of the globe.[54]

Regret lay in the future for supporters of secession, the Republican predicted, with Mississippians being forced to leave the state for other regions.

The Republican then turned its attention to an insult being used against cooperationists: submissionist. The insult, the newspaper stated, was coming from "a few hot-headed Disunionists in our midst who are in the habit of denouncing every man who differs with them."[55] The hot-heads were frequently "men who never did own a negro, and who never expect to own one, and sometimes from men who were born and raised in the North."[56] It is they who were submissionists, the Republican contended, because of all they were willing to turn over to the North:

> The territories, all the public treasure, the navy, the Capitol, all the public buildings, which cost us millions upon millions of dollars, all our interest in the Patent Office, the Smithsonian Institute, the Observatory, the Washington Monument, the Star Spangled Banner, all our national airs, the glorious Fourth of July, and the Constitution itself.[57]

The Republican's advice to the hot-heads was to let Mississippi stay in the Union and fight for its rights as well as its claims to the list of American property and privileges.

For the Whig, secession meant not only the loss of an American birthright, it would be the loss of the peace of Mississippi. "Are the people prepared for revolution and civil war? We think not,"[58] the Whig told its readers. It would also be expensive: "At the lowest possible estimate, it will cost twenty-five million dollars to maintain the State of Mississippi out of the Union. All of this will have to be raised by direct taxation on the people."[59] The Whig's appeal to the people was to stay in the Union, at least until the fall of 1861 when the Southern states should decide together what should be done. The Whig believed it could summarize its position simply, and it tried to do so in a single, though lengthy, sentence:

> We desire to see the existing causes of division between the two sections settled in the Union, upon a permanent and honorable basis that will insure tranquility and harmony to the entire nation; failing in that, we desire to see the whole body of Southern States in united phalanx, moving in a solid column to the establishment of their independence out of the Union.[60]

Down in Natchez, the Free Trader lost its patience with that line of thinking. "Men of the South, why do we hesitate?"[61] the newspaper asked. The correct response on election day was to vote for the men promising separate secession, the Free Trader implored. "Discard all party ties and prejudices," the newspaper wrote, "and vote for Resistance, for Honor, for the vindication of all your rights, for immediate action and the full sovereignty of Mississippi. A Southern Union will follow fast."[62] The Oxford Intelligencer agreed that the Southern states would band together, but they needed to leave separately before inauguration day.

> If we are going out of the Union at all, it is of the utmost importance that we get out before Lincoln shall have been inaugurated as our President. We want him to have no power to appoint any Federal officers in our midst; and more than all, we want all the latent Abolitionists among us to know that he will not have the power of conferring offices upon them.[63]

The Vicksburg Citizen, after mourning the loss of Douglas, wrote hundreds of words and dozens of paragraphs about the crisis in the South. Though it predicted secession many times, it did not state its own opinion until shortly before the election for the state convention. On December 17, the Citizen joined the cooperationists: "We cannot believe that much good can be accomplished without a united action of all the Southern States. Separate State secession would be imprudent and perhaps fatal, but a united confederate action of the whole South would be invincible."[64] But this support for separate state action would be limited on the part of the newspaper. First, the Citizen supported the candidates for the state convention selected by the "Southern Rights" party rather than those selected by the cooperationists. Second, the Citizen reprinted portions of a newspaper fight that ridiculed unionists: "The Brandon Republican is very anxious and inquires: If Mississippi immediately secedes from the Union, what will we have to eat next year? To which the Brookhaven Advertiser replies: Why, neighbor, corn cake and bacon on weekdays, and hog and hominy on Sundays."[65] Also, the Citizen wrote little about its position and concentrated instead on predicting dark days ahead for the North whose white citizens would be responsible for free Negroes who would not find work.[66] There was "civil war" ahead in the view of the Citizen, though its version of the conflict was far off the mark of the war that actually happened.

In Jackson, Barksdale continued his assaults against his enemies and predicted a glorious victory for secession candidates in all sections of the state. The Mississippian reprinted a confident article from the Eastern Clarion in Paulding, claiming that all citizens were for secession: "The greatest enthusiasm prevails in this and the adjoining counties. The Co-operation Southern Convention Submission party will be so weak in East Mississippi that it will be with difficulty that they can procure candidates to lead their forlorn hope."[67] In reality, the cooperationists ran candidates in most east Mississippi counties, and in Perry County, forty miles away from Paulding, a cooperationist won.[68]

Barksdale was determined to get out the vote. "Are you prepared for the battle!" the Mississippian challenged its readers. "But one more week remains for action. See to it now that your active workers are selected to attend the polls, on Thursday the 20th--all day, rain or shine!"[69] Voting for the right candidates was to be a priority: "Examine your ballot carefully, before you deposit it. Be sure you are right and then go the whole figure!"[70] But voting correctly was not enough to fulfill one's duty to the South: "Be sure to cast your vote early, and then go for your neighbor. Get him to deposit his vote, and then turn out for the next man."[71] For any man who struggled with his conscience about Mississippi leaving the Union, the Mississippian provided words from the scriptures: The Good Book says 'Two cannot walk together except they be agreed.'"[72]

The Mississippians last editorial admonition to its readers lived up to the standard it had set earlier in the secession crisis: it was an emotional appeal that aimed at the pride of the voters. The newspaper wrote that the election was a decision on whether Mississippians would live as freemen or slaves. The Mississippian believed the cause of Southern independence was just: "The clouds of abolitionism, which has been gathering in the Northern sky for forty years, had ended in the dark wintry and tempestuous night of a total Black Republican triumph.--But we believe that in the sunny, god-favored land of ours, a mighty spirit of heroism is inspiring the hearts of the people."[73] Join the march, the Mississippian wrote, "on the shortest road out of the Union. Don't you hear the tramp of the mighty hosts--don't you hear the slogan of our native land, as they ascend the eminence of Southern rights and Southern independence?"[74] A small part of the appeal was a rational argument, that with the election of Lincoln the South would be scorned and her sons would have no future in government. "For under such a government," the Mississippian wrote, "to be born in a slave State, will be a stigma upon the aspirant for Federal honors. The Presidency, all federal places of distinction, the army and navy, are all closed to every Southern man."[75] A new type of patriotism, a loyalty to the South, was required: "Let us reach that banner; it is a banner that will do to live under, and if needs be, it is a banner which will do to die under."[76]

One of the last appeals from the Whig was a dire warning of what secession would mean. "Our all is at stake," the Whig wrote. "Our liberties, our lives, our fortunes, and a false step may ruin all. . . Mississippi has but few arms, less munitions of war, no credit, and her treasury has been empty since July."[77] Loyalty to the South was one thing, but a complete trust in the secession newspapers was foolish, according to the Whig. "The secession papers say if Mississippi goes out of the Union, she will force the other Southern States out. Indeed! We rather guess, though, if they have the same Southern spirit we claim, they will not be forced to do anything."[78]

Mississippi voters proved they could not be forced to do anything as well. Despite the panic over Lincoln's election and the thousands of words the newspapers wrote, only sixty percent of the voters who cast ballots in the November presidential election went to the polls on December 20.[79] Historians have determined that unionists or cooperationists ran for election in thirty-four of Mississippi's sixty counties.[80] The dissension in Mississippi was in stark contrast to the unanimous vote of the South Carolina convention to leave the Union, a decision made on the same day as Mississippi's state convention election.

As in the presidential election, returns from the state convention election were slow to be reported in the newspapers. The secession newspapers quickly claimed a sweeping victory, and they were right. Candidates who claimed they were in favor of immediate secession dominated the number who would assemble in Jackson on January 7.[81] But there was no legal reason why all of the candidates could not change their minds several times in the eighteen days between the election and the convention, and the newspapers made use of the opportunity, at times appealing to the delegates directly as the full effects of South Carolina's secession became known.

On January 2, the Mississippian announced that federal forces had abandoned Fort Moultrie and had moved all local forces to Fort Sumter, an action believed to be in response to South Carolina's secession. Mississippi must now secede, the Mississippian wrote, because "it is not to be supposed that the people of Mississippi will stand idle spectators of a contest involving all that is dear to them and their posterity."[82] The Vicksburg Citizen had disturbing news as well: Several hundred United States troops were on their way to Charleston, and closer to home, arms were en route to federal troops on Ship Island by order of the War Department.[83] The Whig had a message for South Carolina: "We wish the retiring State much more joy than we think she will experience."[84]

Mississippi had to make a decision, but it did not have to be the second state to secede. Three other Southern states would be in special convention when the Mississippi delegates went to Jackson on January 7, 1861. Alabama, whose convention delegate election was held on Christmas Eve, was scheduled to begin meetings in Montgomery also on January 7. Florida's special session, whose delegates were elected on December 22, would be meeting as of January 3. The special convention in Georgia was scheduled to go into session on January 16, only nine days after Mississippi and Alabama. It is possible that the news of other state conventions encouraged Mississippians to decide quickly, and Barksdale's Mississippian kept them up-to-date regularly on developments around the South. It also reported that South Carolina had already called for a convention of seceding states to meet in February.[85]

Just in case the news from other parts of the South was unconvincing, the Mississippian continued its assault on cooperationists. It quoted the New Orleans Crescent: "It is useless to disguise the fact that this project of 'co-operation' is but another name for compromise--for submission. That is what it means, and it is not worth while to call it by any other name."[86] The Lincoln threat was still a scourge against the South, and the Mississippian did not want that forgotten. It quoted from Lincoln's remarks during the campaign: "This is a world of compensations, and he who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and , under a just God, cannot long retain it."[87]

Lincoln's sentiments were fighting words to some in the South, and the lukewarm Citizen which had opposed secession changed its mind after election day. "The 20th day of December," the Citizen wrote, "will, for all time to come, be remembered as the day on which was inaugurated the first step to a Southern Confederacy."[88] It called the Southern states "the New Republic." [89]

Secession newspapers began presenting songs, poems and symbols to help Southerners transfer their patriotic feelings from the United States to the new confederacy that was expected to be created. The blue badge or cockade was symbolic of a support of Southern rights and well as a signs of defiance to Lincoln. The French National Anthem, the Marseillaise, became a Southern battle cry; eventually new English words were written calling Southern men to arms. At least one person was arrested in the North for singing the Marseillaise, with its French words, in public.[90] Indeed, the Citizen found the singing of the Marseillaise in the South newsworthy: "Maggie Mitchell, who has been chanting the 'Marseillaise' at the Montgomery (Ala.) Theatre, was presented on Friday night with a 'Lone Star' flag of Alabama."[91] Another new Southern symbol was born.

Another announcement in the Citizen made secession seem inevitable. The Mississippi and Alabama congressional delegations in Washington, the Citizen reported, "decided to remain at their posts until their States withdraw from the Union, or instruct them to retire."[92] The possibility of the delegations continuing to serve in the United States Congress was not considered by the Citizen.

To the cooperationist newspapers, the fight was not over but the odds were against them. The Natchez Courier admitted that the state convention election returns were a disappointment to its cause: "The co-operationists in the Convention will not be as numerous as we wished; but they are too many in numbers, too respectable in character, and represent too large a body of their fellow citizens, to be either brow-beaten or cheated out of their rights."[93] The Courier chided the Free Trader for inaccurately reporting that four secessionists had been elected from Adams and Warren counties; the Courier claimed they were all co-operationists. In fact, both newspapers were wrong since the four delegates voted inconsistently, in the end rejecting secession by three-to-one.[94]

The most passionate last-minute pre-convention appeals of the extant Mississippi newspapers came from the Vicksburg Whig, which warned Mississippians that they would lose in a pro-secession decision. "Our fathers gave us a goodly heritage, rich in present blessings, and all glorious with the golden promise of yet richer fruition in the years to come,"[95] the Whig told its readers. "And now, when some of the heirs attempt to mismanage this grand plantation, shall we, who are equal heir, 'secede' and leave the whole inheritance?"[96] the Whig asked. Why give it all up without a struggle, the Whig wanted to know. There was no reason to give up on the United States now, the Whig wrote:

> The Federal Union has proved a wonderful success; it has made us mighty as a people--invincible against the world, and prosperous beyond example. All admit the perfection of our system of Union; and that would be perfect if the hands of the North were tied on the subject of slavery.[97]

It encouraged its readers to take a position of strength: "Separate or partial secession abandons all, and leaves us weak and powerless for all time to come."[98]

Mississippi's weak position, should she secede, would leave the state with little protection if war broke out, according to the Whig. And the newspaper believed that war was inevitable. In one of its last editions issued before the beginning of the convention, the Whig attacked those who advocated immediate secession:

> The leaders pretend to believe that secession will be peaceable. If so, why is the Governor of Georgia providing to tax her people a million of dollars to purchase arms and to provide for war? Why are the leaders so active to organize military companies all over Mississippi?[99]

There was still hope, in the Whig's view. Two days into the convention, on January 9, the Whig reported optimistically that there were sixty-eight delegates in favor of immediate secession and twenty-nine supporting cooperation. Though it was publishing its newspaper in Vicksburg, the Whig had a message for the delegates meeting in Jackson: "Let each member feel that he is acting for the whole state, let his first thought be for undivided sentiment, and the assembling of the convention will not be in vain."[100]

By January 9, the Natchez Courier had lost its patience with the convention. Though it proudly announced that Mississippi was "still in the union," but that might be a temporary situation. The Courier had a warning for the assembled delegates: "The people are patient, but they will kick against any high-handed measures of revolution done without their consent."[101]

By this time, the fire-eating Mississippian was willing to admit that war was likely. "All measures looking to peaceful settlement may as well be abandoned. Let it be so,"[102] the Mississippian wrote. But this threat was not followed with another appeal for secession, as the Mississippian would have done in the past. The news was presented, the Mississippian wrote, so people would be informed: "If it is the fixed purpose of the Federal Government to meet the exercise of the right which belongs to a free people, by force, the sooner the Southern people are made aware of that fact the better."[103]

Well-informed or not, the people of Mississippi could only wait for the decision of the delegates they elected to represent them less than three weeks earlier. The voters had endured more than six months of newspaper appeals to their reason and emotions and had been called to the polls twice to decide the future of the South. They had come from the summer of discontent to the winter of decision, and they had heard predictions both dire and encouraging about their future. For the first time in the secession crisis, the only words that mattered in Mississippi were being uttered not by the newspapers but by the ninety-nine men gathered at the state capitol in Jackson. On January 9, the delegates voted 84 to 15 to leave the Union.

Free Speech in Mississippi's Secession Crisis: A Conclusion

Fifty-six years after Wilbur J. Cash wrote Mind of the South, it remains a landmark. Cash believed that all Southerners, regardless of class, are united in a common goal of White supremacy.[104] Though his analysis begins with the Civil War and Reconstruction, his theory could be applied to the antebellum South as well when wealthy plantation owners achieved hegemony over the yeoman farmer by normalizing slavery. The poor, White, Southern dirt farmer could not ponder his worldly possessions in the big house, but he could always remind himself that he was not unfortunate enough to be a slave. In this way, slavery served two White masters: the slave owner and his poor relation down the road.

In 1860, slavery was accepted as the best economic system for the White population of Mississippi, and the extant newspapers show no evidence that this belief was challenged or doubted. Even in Unionist newspapers like the Vicksburg Whig and the Natchez Courier, slavery was not in question. In August, 1860, the Courier wrote: "If an Abolitionist goes to the South, and preaches that there can be 'no such thing as property in human flesh,' his property in his own flesh will hardly be respected."[105] The Vicksburg Citizen, which supported Stephen A. Douglas, a Northern candidate, promoted slavery as a moral good. The issue in all Mississippi newspapers of the secession period is what path to take that would lead to protection for slavery in the South and the territories. Abolitionism was the enemy.

It is obvious that freedom of speech broke down in antebellum Mississippi, and those who might have had thoughts against slavery were marginalized and silenced. That, of course, assumes that there might have been opinions against slavery in 1860 Mississippi; it is possible to conceive that the silencing of those opinions was so effective before the secession crisis that there was no one brave enough to raise his voice.

Historian Donald B. Kelley believes Mississippi had been involved in a systematic isolationism designed to guard it against all abolitionist sentiment during the late 1850s and 1860. He states that the Harper's Ferry incident in 1859 made the pro-slavery forces in Mississippi even more fanatical.[106] The publication in 1857 of the abolitionist book The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It by Hinton Rowan Helper sent slavery supporters into a frenzy. Copies of the book were burned publicly in Mississippi, and newspapers warned that it would be dangerous to be seen with a copy in one's possession.[107] By late 1859, Barksdale's Mississippian was urging Southerners to stop associating with people from non-slaveholding areas: "We will arrest and send out of the State, in the most summary manner, all itinerant vendors of Northern books, newspapers, periodicals, or any other article of Northern growth of manufacture."[108]

Such ideological domination was effective in convincing Southerners of the correctness of their outlook and on the evil of any Northern influence. Kelley writes: "Southerners were left only with the continuing hypnotic intoxication of their own propaganda."[109] It would be difficult to formulate a view of antebellum Mississippi that is contrary to Kelley's assertions, and it is possible that Mississippians, even non-slaveholders, began to believe they were being dishonored and insulted by Northerners who disapproved of their ways of doing business. Mississippi newspapers, regardless of their political positions, contributed to the outrage.

But it is a giant step from getting angry to giving up one's citizenship, yet that is precisely what several newspapers advocated and the Secession Convention decided. Secession happened in Mississippi just as it had in South Carolina, yet the climate was far different. Mississippi's pro-secessionists, including its fire-eating editors, were not states righters like William Barnwell Rhett in South Carolina; they were young, ambitious, Southern righters like Barksdale.[110] They were consumed with outrage against the North, and the language they used to communicate their anger was incendiary and uncompromising.

Any Mississippians with opposing viewpoints on slavery would have been denounced firmly by all of Mississippi's secession crisis newspapers. Any editor trying to publish abolitionist material in Mississippi would have been in physical danger; the Mississippian had warned that anyone even possessing such material did so at his peril. Freedom of speech on the slavery issue had been shut down effectively in Mississippi; there is no evidence to challenge this conclusion. The pro-slavery faction had achieved dominance by appealing to the pride and emotions of the Southern voter. Even in a state with limited literacy, the absence of competiting viewpoints leaves no room for dissent.

The question in this study, however, is whether there was a breakdown of free speech on the subject of secession, and if there was, whether Mississippi newspapers contributed to the silencing of dissent. While the newspapers were unanimous in their condemnation of abolitionism, they differed widely in recommendations on how the state should respond to the election of 1860. If researchers were to read only the state's most widely-read newspaper, the Mississippian, they might be lead to the conclusion that secession was inevitable. When other newspapers are considered, it is obvious that editors were willing to stand up to Barksdale and advocate other solutions.

Of all the extant opposition newspapers, the Vicksburg Whig and the Vicksburg Citizen appear to be worthy of note. The Whig endorsed the Constitutional Union ticket and freely attacked Breckinridge supporters and secessionists. But most importantly, it used reason in an attempt to appeal to the thinking voters of Mississippi. The January 9 edition of the Whig, issued the day the state left the union, printed an article under the headline "After us the deluge," an English translation of the comment by French King Louis XV, considered the ultimate in selfish leadership. The article summarized the Whig's philosophy: "This is felt and lamented by all who watch, near at hand, the course of proceedings in this direction, and who realize the melancholy truth that it is much easier to destroy our Federal temple than to build again upon the foundations which may have been once upturned."[111] The last line of the article was chilling in its prediction that secession was shortsighted and "never was a greater mistake."[112]

The Vicksburg Citizen supported the candidacy of Douglas and, after his hopes for winning the national election had vanished, continued to campaign in the hopes of subverting the secession movement.[113] The Citizen's belief in Douglas was firm: "He is the ablest, the boldest, the honestest, the most consistent, the truest, the most chivalrous, the most national and the most Jacksonian of all living American statesmen, and therefore best entitled to be the next wearer of the

Presidential 'purple.'"[114] Douglas may have been the South's only chance to avoid a Lincoln presidency, and the Citizen, though it never made the appeal, may have been foresighted enough to predict the coming crisis. Ultimately, the Citizen supported immediate secession, but only after it observed so many prominent Mississippians leaning toward disunion. Other newspapers, such as the Whig and the Natchez Courier, were not swayed from their anti-secession positions until after the convention vote.

Historians must conclude that in the discussion of secession, there is sufficient evidence of freedom of speech and of the press. Had Barksdale and other editors in favor of immediate secession dominated the discussion, the dissension editors would have been forced to advocate immediate secession, too, in order to appeal to the philosophies of their readers. While this certainly happened on the slavery issue, it did not happen in the discussion of secession. There are three apparent reasons for this. First, there was not enough time for the advocates of immediate secession to achieve hegemony. Secondly, the issue was too serious to the future of Mississippi to achieve a unanimity of opinion. Thirdly, the issue was ambiguous and voters may not have known for what they were voting.

The presidential election was held on November 6, and even with instantaneous communication by telegraph, it took days for the hand-counted returns to be complete. Eight days after the election, Governor Pettus called for the special session of the legislature which convened in Jackson on November 26, just short of three weeks after the election. The special session immediately called for a special convention election to be held on December 20. Since most Mississippi newspapers were publishing once or twice a week, editors would have had, at a maximum, only 13 issues in which to discuss the secession issue. Editors had a much longer time to reach unanimity on the slavery issue, but in the secession discussion the time was limited. Also, since candidates to the convention were running on their reputations rather than their positions (at least in a technical sense), editors had to spend part of that limited time advocating candidates and explaining why a vote for one over another was desirable.

Asking Mississippians to be unanimous in giving up their United States citizenship made secession a serious position to promote. Just five months earlier, Mississippians had celebrated the Fourth of July in grand style. They had flown the stars and stripes and had read the Bill of

Rights aloud. To Mississippians, giving up accepted symbols must have seemed as difficult as the changing of their loyalties. Also, the War of 1812 with its Indian skirmishes and the Mexican War were in the very recent past for most Mississippians. To ask people to turn away from a country for which they had sacrificed was a great sacrifice. The fire-eating editors could convince some of the people of the wisdom of immediate secession, but not all.

In South Carolina, where the secession vote was unanimous, historians have found evidence of hesitation on the part of state leaders. In fact, Rhett, the so-called "Father of Secession," was toning down his pro-secession writing in the Charleston Mercury[115] by the time the unanimous vote was taken. The delegates to the convention were, after the vote, shocked by what they had done, and the upper districts of South Carolina were firmly opposed to secession.[116] Even the first state out of the Union had its dissenters.

Finally, enough positions on secession emerged in Mississippi newspapers after Lincoln's election as to have confused even the most diligent citizen. Historians have identified Immediate Secessionists, Unionists, Conditional Unionists, and Cooperationists, and articles advocating all of those positions were in the newspapers. Also, there is much ambiguity in the term "Submissionist," which Barksdale used frequently. Was he writing about the Unionists, the Cooperationists, or all opposed to his Immediate Secessionist stance? The term is unclear in all but one respect: it was meant to insult Barksdale's enemies.

Of all the charges concerning a breakdown of free speech in the antebellum South, historian Donald E. Reynolds's is the most condemning of newspaper editors. Reynolds makes a direct link between the actions of Southern newspapers and the Civil War. He writes that Southern newspapers were responsible for operating a monopoly on Southern news. In this atmosphere, Southerners were not really reading what Northerners thought, they were reading what Southern editors supposed Northerners thought. In Reynolds's view, the anti-Northern bias came through even in the Unionist newspapers; in Mississippi this is certainly true. Reynolds engages in a "what if" and condemns Southern antebellum journalism:

> Had a majority of the South's newspapers maintained even a modicum of integrity in reporting Northern views in general, and the Republican party's slavery intentions in particular, the South's "Republicanphobia" almost certainly would have

> been less virulent than it was.[117]

But Reynolds's analysis makes a dangerous assumption that the South's secession discussion could have been rational at any time. In a state with a high illiteracy rate, what was written in newspapers could influence only the opinion leaders who passed on their information by word of mouth. And once the first comment by an abolitionist critical of Southerners was passed by those would could read to those who could not, the gauntlet had fallen. Illiterate men cut off from finding their own information can quickly resort to suspicion and fear, and this is not easily dispelled. Rainwater had judged the entire discussion during the secession crisis in Mississippi as "childish nonsense." Mississippians in 1860 could not stand the insults, any insults from the North. "Like a parcel of school boys, who had been dared, they at once determined that it would be unbecoming 'Southern chivalry' to take a dare from a set of canting, puritanical snobs."[118] Rainwater believes that foolishness should not be overlooked as a causal factor of the Civil War.

The truth about the secession crisis in Mississippi, and the role of newspaper editors in it, is probably somewhere in between the beliefs of Reynolds and Rainwater. Some Mississippi editors, with Barksdale the most obvious example, worked their readers into a state of high emotion with tales of impending danger and Northern insults. Yet even Barksdale had his moments of rational argument for voters in the pages of the Mississippian. Slavery was not up for discussion, but secession certainly was.

Still, too much emphasis can be placed on the arguments for and against secession during the six months of crisis in Mississippi. Rainwater has a warning for all who study this period in Mississippi history:

> Those who, many years removed from the events, study the causes of great conflicts are likely to not see individuals of blood and bone, possessing their miserable passions, their vanities, and sometimes their base motives. . . Amid the existing scenes of bitter conflicts, man's rationalizations are modified, and sometimes prevented, by his emotions.[119]

In 1860 and 1861, Mississippians had both miserable passions and thoughtful reasoning, and the newspapers appealed to them both.

[1] This phrase was coined by historian Percy Lee Rainwater in his book Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861 (Baton Rouge, LA: Otto Claitor, 1938).

[2] Quoted in Rainwater, Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 214.

[3] Avery O. Craven, The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 364.

[4] Rainwater, Storm Center, 168.

[5] Paul Chevigny, More Speech: Dialogue Rights and Modern Liberty (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1935), 103.

[6] Donald B. Kelley, "Intellectual Isolation: Gateway to Secession in Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History 36 (1), 36-37.

[7] Robert J. Wagman, The First Amendment Book (New York: World Almanac Books, 1989), 48.

[8] David M. Potter, The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861 (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

[9] Charles S. Sydnor, The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848. A History of the South, vol. 5 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948).

[10] Avery O. Craven, The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861. A History of the South, vol. 6 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953).

[11] The two Ralph A. Wooster sources are "The Secession Conventions of the Lower South: A Study of Their Membership," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1954, and The Secession Conventions of the South (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962).

[12] Percy L. Rainwater, "Economic Benefits of Secession: Opinions in Mississippi in the 1850s," Journal of Southern History 1 (4), 459-474.

[13] D.B. Kelley, "Intellectual Isolation: Gateway to Secession in Mississippi," Journal of Mississippi History 36 (1), 17-37.

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[15] Donald E. Reynolds, Editors Make War (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1966).

[16] J. Cutler Andrews, The South Reports the Civil War (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970).

[17] Dwight Dumond, Southern Editorials on Secession (American Historical Association, 1931).

[18] Vicksburg Citizen, November 12, 1860, 1.

[19] Intelligencer (Oxford), November 14, 1860, 2.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Sunny South (Aberdeen), November 8, 1860, 2.

[22] Charleston Mercury quoted in Sunny South (Aberdeen), November 8, 1860, 3.

[23] Lexington Advertiser, November 9, 1860, 2.

[24] Mississippian (Jackson), November 14, 1860, 1.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 2.

[30] Natchez Free Trader, November 19, 1860, 3.

[31] Robert W. Johannsen,"Stephen A. Douglas and the South," Journal of Southern History 33, 26-50.

[32] Vicksburg Citizen, November 26, 1860, 2.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 3.

[37] Vicksburg Whig, November 21, 1860, 3.

[38] Ralph A. Wooster, The Secession Conventions of the South (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 28.

[39] Ibid., 15.

[40] Ibid., 82.

[41] Mississippian (Jackson), November 21, 1860, 1.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Vicksburg Whig, November 28, 1860, 3.

[45] Mississippian (Jackson), December 5, 1860, 1.

[46] Ibid.

[47] The list is found in Journal of the State convention and Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted in January 1861 with an Appendix (Jackson, MS, 1861).

[48] Mississippian (Jackson), December 5, 1860, 2.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Vicksburg Whig, December 5, 1860, 3.

[51] Brandon Republican, December 6, 1860, 2.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Vicksburg Whig, December 12, 1860, 1.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Natchez Free Trader, December 10, 1860, 1.

[62] Natchez Free Trader, December 17, 1860, 4.

[63] Oxford Intelligencer, December 19, 1997, 2.

[64] Vicksburg Citizen, December 17, 1860, 2.

[65] Vicksburg Citizen, December 18, 1860, 2.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Eastern Clarion (Paulding), quoted in Mississippian (Jackson), December 18, 1860, 1.

[68] Rainwater, Mississippi, Storm Center, 210.

[69] Mississippian (Jackson), December 12, 1860.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid., 2.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Vicksburg Whig, December 12, 1860, 1.

[78] Vicksburg Whig, December 19, 1860, 1.

[79] Craven, Growth of Southern Nationalism, 364.

[80] Wooster, "Secession Conventions," 56.

[81] Ibid., 58.

[82] Mississippian (Jackson), January 2, 1861, 1.

[83] Vicksburg Citizen, December 28, 1860, 1.

[84] Vicksburg Whig, December 26, 1860, 3.

[85] Mississippian (Jackson), January 2, 1861, 1.

[86] New Orleans Crescent, quoted in Mississippian (Jackson), January 2, 1861, 1.

[87] Abraham Lincoln, April 13, 1860, quoted in Mississippian (Jackson), January 2, 1861, 1.

[88] Vicksburg Citizen, December 29, 1860, 1.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Drew Gilpin Faust, The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

[91] Vicksburg Citizen, December 29, 1860, 1.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Natchez Courier, January 4, 1861, 4.

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[94] The inconsistencies occur primarily with T.A. Marshall from Warren County, who voted against cooperation and secession. Most other delegates voting against secession were in favor of cooperation.

[95] Vicksburg Whig, December 26, 1860, 1.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Vicksburg Whig, January 2, 1861, 1.

[98] Vicksburg Whig, December 29, 1860, 1.

[99] Vicksburg Whig, January 2, 1861, 1.

[100] Vicksburg Whig, January 9, 1861, 1.

[101] Natchez Courier, January 9, 1861, 4.

[102] Mississippian (Jackson), January 9, 1860, 1.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Wilbur J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1941).

[105] Natchez Courier, August 3, 1860, quoted in Kelley, Intellectual Isolation, 18.

[106] Kelley, Intellectual Isolation, 17.

[107] Ibid., 23.

[108] Mississippian (Jackson), December 23, 1859, quoted in Ibid.

[109] Kelley, Intellectual Isolation, 30.

Ruth Gruber, Arctic Journalist, Carves a Northwest Passage Through the Ice of the Red Scare, With Coverage of Alaska and Soviet Russia

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Abstract

Ruth Gruber, Arctic Journalist, Carves a Northwest Passage Through the Ice of the Red Scare, With Coverage of Alaska and Soviet Russia

Ruth Gruber was a lecturer, journalist and foreign correspondent who was fascinated with other cultures and whose operative word was brotherhood. In 1935, at the age of 23, she became the first foreign correspondent, male or female, to obtain permission to enter the Soviet Arctic and the Gulag during Stalin's iron-fisted presidency, interviewing party members in Moscow and reporting on the frontier of the Soviet outposts. Gruber obtained the Arctic assignment through a traveling fellowship awarded her by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs. The fellowship called for her to study the situation of women under Fascism, Communism and European Democracy. The *New York Herald Tribune* published the story of the northern odyssey for the American readers. Because of this assignment, Ruth Gruber became the first foreign correspondent to fly over the Arctic Circle. Because of this assignment, she was censured by certain representatives in Congress and investigated by the FBI. However, the Arctic assignment would launch Gruber on a path of international reporting, in which she covered the cultures of many nations; more particularly, the Jewish populations worldwide, especially their mass exodus to Israel post-World War II. The purpose of this research is to examine the published and the untold history of her travail, still another American journalist whose loyalties were questioned during the Red Scare.

Ruth Gruber, Arctic Journalist, Carves a Northwest Passage Through the Ice of the Red Scare, With Coverage of Alaska and Soviet Russia

> Words can create.
> Words can destroy.
> Words can build a life.
> Words can take a life away.
> Those of us who can use words
> have an obligation and a mission
> to use those words for survival.
>
> — Ruth Gruber
> New York City, 1996[1]

Ruth Gruber was a lecturer, journalist and foreign correspondent who was fascinated with other cultures and whose operative word was brotherhood. In 1935, at the age of 23, she became the first foreign correspondent, male or female, to obtain permission to enter the Soviet Arctic and the Gulag during Stalin's iron-fisted presidency, interviewing party members in Moscow and reporting on the frontier of the Soviet outposts.[2] Because of this assignment, she became the first foreign correspondent to fly over the Arctic Circle.[3] Because of this assignment, she was censured by certain representatives in Congress and investigated by the FBI.

Gruber's plans to go to the Arctic Circle could not have had a more pedestrian beginning. The journalist obtained the Arctic assignment through a traveling fellowship awarded her by the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs. The fellowship called for her to study the situation of women under Fascism, Communism and European Democracy.[4] It appeared to be a win-win situation for her, her sponsors and for American readers. The U.S.S.R. wanted her to report on what its women were doing as meteorologists, scientists and explorers.[5] If that were not enough incentive for the young journalist, the *New York Herald Tribune* wanted to publish the story of the northern odyssey.[6]

Gruber could not think of a better *fait accompli* than reporting the assignment for the *Herald Tribune*, because she favored the publication over all other newspapers. She said, "I felt very close to the *New York Herald Tribune* because it was like Saks Fifth Avenue in the newspaper world, while *The New York Times* was like Macy's."[7]

The Arctic assignment turned out to be a mixed blessing. It would launch Ruth Gruber on a path of international reporting, in which she covered the cultures of many nations; more particularly, the Jewish populations worldwide, especially their mass exodus to Israel post-World War II. The Arctic assignment also would bring her under the microscope of those hunting for suspected Communists in the Red Scare of the 1940s. She would be linked by association to the persons she interviewed in the U.S.S.R. Her accolades about northern exploration and the potential of trade and communication routes would bring her to the attention of Congress three times, in 1941, 1946 and 1949, even as she continued to cover stories on the displaced-person status of Jews in Europe. The purpose of this paper is to examine the published and the untold history of her travail, still another American journalist whose loyalties were questioned during the Red Scare.

Ruth Gruber was born in Brooklyn, the fourth of five children. She excelled in her studies. After getting a degree from New York University, A.B. (in three years), with studies as well at Mount Holyoke, Harvard and Wisconsin, for a Master's, she went to Germany as an exchange student for the Institute of International Education.[8] At age 20, she earned a Ph.D. *summa cum laude* in art and German from the University of Cologne.[9] Her thesis, in German, compared Virginia Woolf with other modern writers."[10] The year was 1932.

She faced an uncertain future because she could not find a job. The ideal she set for herself was to find something that would elevate the lower status of women. Like Lincoln Steffens, on her return to the United States, she decided that journalism was "a better field for producing philosophers than any other field" to work on the problems she wanted to see solved.[11] Also, the decision was based on economic realities. Gruber said: "I got my doctorate, and I could not find a job. I had enough rejection slips to paper a bedroom wall."[12]

At a party in New York, Gruber was introduced to the Arctic explorer Vilhalmur Stefansson who reportedly converted her in one evening to the prospect of exploring the area herself.[13] "Before I met Stef," she said, "I thought the Arctic was a land of ice and snow, where nobody lived except Eskimos and prisoners like Michael Strogoff."[14]

She pursued funding, and managed to convince the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs that she had a viable project to help women. The convert could not wait to fly north. The year was 1935.

Facilitating her travelogue planning was Professor Otto Julievitch Schmidt, leader of the Soviet's program for reclaiming the Arctic, who briefed the young journalist in his Moscow office. Gruber called him a tall man with the face of a prophet: he laughed easily, "twirling his gray beard into a soft curl, and untwirling it, rising constantly to trace a Polar course on a huge map hanging on the wall."[15] Little did she know that her attention to detail in reporting her description of Schmidt and of that meeting would be used against her.

In October, the traveling journalist reported her progress as she flew toward Igarka, Siberia, north of the Arctic Circle. There she found settlements setting up radio stations and meteorological laboratories. Their purpose was to establish new communication routes where once only Russian hunters, native tribesmen and political prisoners lived. At Turukhansk, she told

American readers, where the Czars had sent exiles, the Soviet government now exiled "anarchists, menshevicks and counter-revolutionaries."[16]

She sent dispatches to Moscow from the Soviet Arctic Radio Free Igarka. Seated in the rear, open cockpit of a Soviet mail plane, she flew above partially completed Siberian factories, collective farms in their seminal year of the second five-year plan. She reported that land, sea and air routes across the Arctic were being developed by Soviet airplanes, ice-breakers and freighters. She said: "I am experiencing that feeling of zest which comes with exploration. I am in the thick of an historic movement. I am in an era in the making — an era which almost none has seen, other than those who are engaged in exploring and developing it."[17]

At Igarka, she wrote vignettes about the pioneers there, reporting that it was almost a woman's town because they were leading, directing, planning and turning the wheels of economic and political life -- and receiving equal pay for equal work, and experiencing equal privations.[18] Three winters earlier 3,500 people, one in five of the town's citizens, had suffered scurvy, but with the building of storehouses, the city had become in Gruber's eyes an exotic patchwork of culture:

> Preoccupied engineers step on the toes of an old woman selling mushrooms and collide with old men with flowing beards who bow Czarist fashion, almost to the ground in greeting. Older people, scientists, engineers and specialists have come for economic reasons, for Igarka offers better pay and longer vacations than central Russia.[19]

She said the communication in the polar night could only be transcended by radio. There were no newspapers, no mail, and before their expedition, no visitors. She wrote that a new epoch was unfolding: "One only has to see Igarka to realize what technology has done to change the whole concept of the north from ice blockades, long nights and polar bears into a modern industrial country."[20]

In November 1935, she reported from the tundra of Dickson Island, 18 degrees south of the North Pole, that the seaport was the northernmost terminal of 40 stations like it being constructed to link America, Europe and Asia in a proposed commercial trans-polar air route. She compared the expedition to the prairie experience of the American pioneers, translated into twentieth century terms by radio and airplanes and the latest inventions of man.[21] She said the compass had shifted, and polar bears had replaced buffalo, adding that the new Horace Greeley was Otto Julievitch Schmidt, who had called for northern exploration.[22]

She was fascinated that the local journalist on Dickson Island was a cook who wrote stories for the only news sheet available, a wall newspaper comprised of cartoons, maps, photographs and hand-printed articles. Gruber reported that the scientists had sent a plane to a remote fishing outpost on Dickson Island to assist a woman giving birth. The doctor sat at a microphone below a radio tower constructed in 1913 and directed the operation from 300 miles away. The station had made headlines beyond the wall newspaper in 1928 when a radio operator caught a signal from the survivors of the *Italia*, a ship trapped for seven weeks in the ice floes.[23]

The Northern Sea Route had just been opened for commerce and trade earlier in the year. Daily there was more to report. On November 10, Gruber reported that a new page was written in the story of human and international relations when the *Anadyr* passed the American *Diomedes* and sighted Alaska from the Bering Strait. Gruber was the only American aboard the *Anadyr*, one of 39 crew members and 170 passengers.[24] The *Anadyr* was one of four Soviet ships that was attempting to prove that the fastest and cheapest way between Europe and the Orient was the Arctic. Despite being aboard a ship that cut through ice 23-feet thick and rising 5 meters above the vessel, Gruber said her Spartan quarters were comfortable. Ever attuned to media advances, she noted that a stamp had just been released showing a Yakut rising a reindeer, carrying a bundle of newspapers, with a radio-equipped fur trading post depicted in the background.[25]

After she returned stateside, she interviewed 34-year-old Sigismund Kevanevsky, the Russian airman who attempted to fly non-stop from Moscow to San Francisco, in conjunction with the Northern Sea Route Administration. The Russian flier had rescued James Mattern, the pilot who flew around the world, only to be stopped at Anadyr, Siberia. The Russian also had taken part in the air rescue of the 104 members of the ill-fated Chelyuskin expedition.[26]

She was invited for a second flight to the north at the invitation of Professor Schmidt. On her 1936 media assignment, she interviewed high government officials and exiled *kulaks* and Trotskyists, continuing to report for the *New York Herald-Tribune*.[27] The reporter flew to the Republic of Yakutsk in company of scientists, explorers, fur trappers, politicians and engineers to see how the Soviet Union handled its national minorities.[28] Many of those specialists were women on an exploratory team working in the salt, oil and coal industries.[29] She reported on the Lena and Aldan goldfields of Siberia, descending into the mines, where she talked with Russian and Yakut women running conveyor belts.[30]

Gruber especially wanted to report how the new media advances and new social order had changed the lives of the Russian people. The journalist said: "I wanted to know how radio and telephones had changed their perspective and what the coming of the airplane had done."[31] Radio communication had been established with Moscow and the 42 polar ice stations patrolling the Arctic coast. Radio was their only contact with the rest of the world in those early pioneering attempts. At Trixie Bay, Gruber said:

> I walked around the polar station talking to the works and scientists, reading reports at the Weather bureau and listening to the messages flashed into the radio station from Moscow, Yakutsk and Cape Northwick, as station opened this year. About 16,000 words a day are transmitted from Trixie, the second largest radio in the Soviet Arctic.[32]

Gruber called Yakutsk, a city founded in 1632, the metropolis of the Soviet Arctic. She wrote on her arrival there: "I had crossed ten thousand miles to see this city, and now on a warm evening in August it lay before me, peaceful, diffused in the Arctic sun."[33]

She said Yakutsk could be turning Siberia into a melting pot in that native brown-skinned Yakuts worked side by side with white Russians. She described the city as bilingual and biracial. She spoke at length with the Communist leadership, which she described as pouring over new maps and charts and talking about the problems before them. Gruber also painted a rosy picture of the Russian worker. She said the Soviet hope was being realized, as well as the plan to raise its national minorities to the standards of living and education set by the populace in Moscow. Men and women who had lived in obscurity were now holding lectures in the Kremlin.[34]

Workers conditions were improved, she said. She said the average worker in the northern city had a six-hour day in a five-day week. He paid about 10 percent of his salary on rent, living in a wooden house supplied by his organization, often eating in a communal dining room. For leisure, the worker saw Charlie Chaplin or a Soviet film with the family. He spent his time at the clubhouse, listening to lectures, concerts or plays. At home he listened to broadcasts in Russian and Yakutian. He entertained them with Soviet and foreign records on a portable phonograph. In the dance hall, young women and men were dancing fox trots and tangos to the strains of Ben Bernie's orchestra.[35]

Her coverage of the Soviet Arctic resulted in book-length narrative called *I Went to the*

Soviet Arctic. It was published by Viking Press in 1939.[36] Years after she would say of the Soviet experience, "I was totally unprepared for Glasnost. I was there in the Gulag, and I saw what had happened."[37]

She was also totally unprepared for the controversy caused by her book. In April 1941, Interior Secretary Ickes appointed her field representative in Alaska for the Department of Interior. She was commissioned to make a social and an economic survey of the area.[38] Short weeks later, her book *I Went to the Soviet Arctic,* was brought to the attention of the U.S. House of Representatives. A curious encounter on the floor of Congress was reported in *The New York Times*. New York Rep. John Tabor reportedly waved the volume over the heads of his fellow legislators, declaring it was time to stop "the propaganda of communism."[39] Tabor urged the Department of Interior drop Ruth Gruber from its payroll, saying, "Any of us who vote to pay this women's salary is not fit to sit in the House of Representatives."[40]

Alfred I. Bulwinkle, representative from North Carolina, called for a quotation from the book. A representative called Mason, from Illinois, responded with the closing words of the book:

> But I know some day I shall go back, and bath again in the Yenisei at Molokov Island, take midnight walks in Igarka, work with its newspaper people and pioneers, get up at dawn at a polar station, swim in the Arctic Ocean, and rush back to a steaming breakfast shouting "Zdravstvuitye" until that full-mouthed greeting seems to ring across the Arctic.[41]

Mason said that was enough for him for him to vote against her removal. However, Bulwinkle said it sounds like to me, "The only thing she said is she wants to take a bath."[42]

Despite Bulwinkle's opposition, on May 15 the House voted 64 to 49 to remove Gruber from the government payroll. It was noted by *The Times* that the legislators failed to translate "Zdravstvuitye," which meant approximately, "Good morning!"[43]

The negative publicity ultimately brought about a new market for her book. It was reissued again, revised, with new information covering developments from 1939 to 1944.[44] Ickes supported Gruber as a government representative in the same way that Helen Rogers Reid supported her as a journalist. The government job obviously utilized Gruber's talents in the capacities of journalist and information officer. Gruber was asked by Reid to lecture at the *New York Herald Tribune* Twelfth Forum, which was in 1943. Reid introduced Ruth Gruber at the forum, saying:

> For over 19 months, Gruber covered the vast territory by plane, train, truck, boat and dogsled with more thoroughness than has ever been done by any single person. She lived in schools, hospitals and even a jail among the Eskimos of the Arctic Coast, talking to people in every walk of life, gathering a wealth of material about this undeveloped part of our country.[45]

Reid also spoke of Gruber's reports about the military:

> During a trip to the Aleutians as the only woman in an Army convoy, she lived on the base at Dutch Harbor. She ate with the soldiers and sailors and came to know all their hopes and fears. Until now Army censorship has prevented her from telling the story of this great news crossroads of the world. Tonight the veil has been lifted.[46]

Gruber reportedly filled 85 notebooks with her findings. She told Mary Braggiotti of the *New York Post* that she was quite struck by the fact that winters in Juneau were warmer than those in New York. She reported that summers in Fairbanks had higher temperatures than those in Florida. She called the Arctic "The Mediterranean of the North" in that it linked all the northern cities of East and West.[47] She talked to the soldiers in their barracks, saying that during the long evenings they all really let their hair down. She said the farther north a woman went, the more beautiful she becomes: "A dance in a place like Dutch Harbor makes you feel like a cross between the Dutchess of Windsor and Hedy Lamarr."[48] As an interesting side note, Gruber made headlines in Alaska during that season when she beat all the soldiers at ping pong at the local USO center.[49]

At the *Herald Tribune* Forum, she talked about the influence of the media, and about letting Eskimo children read her issues of *Life*. She would then ask the children to write about what they had read. Most of them wrote about the advertisements they liked. Gruber related the story of one advertisement, written with an economy of words: "This is the story of a girl. She is waiting at the church. The groom as left her. She did not learn. She has bad breath."[50]

Gruber also spoke as an international economist who had been born before her time about the Soviets pushing for industries and cities east of the Urals. She said the China was unifying itself, that millions of Asiatics were someday going to demand American automobiles, American tractors, American refrigerators and American toilet soap. She believed that Alaska was the natural gateway for those markets.[51] She said Alaska was no paradise on earth, nor was it hell frozen over:

> Alaska seems to have a chunk of everything American. Are you from Iowa? The interior has flat land and fertile valleys. Are you from the forest lands of Georgia? Southeastern Alaska is an almost uncut primeval forest. Are you from Los Angeles? Alaska has plenty of mist. New Jersey? The mosquitoes in Alaska are as big as Army bombers, if you believe the

> soldiers who have fed them have blood. Planes alone can trek through time and squeeze through these distances, and when you fly over sections of highway and coast, you see below you flowing rivers of ice, and fields of glaciers, you feel almost as though you were flying over the first day of creation.[52]

As a field representative, she spoke of the new highway system built and maintained by the Department of Interior. She encouraged those with sufficient financial resources and will to withstand discouragement to develop the new frontier, whose population was only 80,000 at the time. She said Alaska must take its rightful place in world aviation, saying that the new land routes and air routes would help break through racial barriers.[53] Like Caroline Iverson, the first woman who fly over Alaska in a small plane in 1939, Gruber had nothing but praise for the Matanuska experiment, in which the government sent hundreds of dust-bowl farmers to work at Matanuska Valley on submarginal land. She said the valley had grown to be more than a study of democracy — it was a success story about democracy.[54]

Reid's words would be remembered by many in light of subsequent events in the reporter's life. Gruber apparently was still on the payroll for the Department of Interior in February 1946 when her work in Alaska was again questioned.[55] After she was censored by the house, Ickes apparently had used his influence to get a job with her on the Alaska railroad with an annual salary of $6,000 (a columnist set that figure at $8,500[56]) , in a time when the general manager of the railroad was paid $14,400 annually.[57]

Rep. Jed Johnson of Oklahoma said Col. O.F. Ohlson, general manager of the Alaska railroad, had been questioned by the House appropriations subcommittee concerning work performed by some employees, and Gruber listed was among them. To a congressional inquiry, the general manager testified that she had only been to the territory one or two times during that period.[58]

Johnson said she apparently wrote journalistic travelogue pieces, which were sold to magazines.[59] The representative charged that she had gone to the Soviet Union before being hired by the railroad and to Western Europe after working for the railroad, however, did not explain why this made Gruber a Red. He intimated that her report on the Aleutians had contained military secrets and had been withdrawn by demand of the Army.[60] The representative said she had been dropped from the payroll in December 1945 after he had complained about her status.[61]

After the second campaign to censure her, Gruber would continue to promote the Alaska project. She did this even after the ceasing of hostilities in World War II, in that the plans had moved toward developing Alaska in line with President Roosevelt's Bremerton speech: Following the speech, Gruber said the project developers had received thousands of letters from people who want to live in Alaska after the war."[62]

However, soon her life would spin off into a very different direction. She had indicated her new interest in her speech at the *Herald Tribune* Forum when she said:

> You will hear many of our philosophers of despair wailing that frontier days are over, that the frontier spirit is an anachronism, and that, since we have not opened wide our doors to political refugees from Europe, we have *ipso facto*, broken the frontier pattern which made us great. I believe they are wrong. I believe we are still a frontier people, that we have not lost our virility, our love for fearless freedom.[63]

Gruber would soon become one of those philosophers who fought despair, and who worked to open the doors to European refugees. During the war, again a field representative for the Department of Interior, she was sent to Italy in 1944 with the department's Division of Territories and Island Possessions." She was assigned to bring to Fort Ontario, the refugee center at Oswego, N.Y., 982 displaced Europeans whom President Franklin D. Roosevelt had invited to America on June 9 through the War Relocation Authority of the Department of Interior.[64] She told the press that the refugees were a cross-section of every type of refugee now pouring into Italy, there being 36,000 in the Allied camps. After the war, Harry S. Truman relented. He announced in December 1945 that the Oswego refugee would qualified as displaced persons.[65] Following Oswego, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe declared it was time to establish temporary rescue camps in Palestine for the displaced Jewish populations.[66] Gruber began to report on their status for the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Her answer to the censor of Congress was to make sure that she went to Alaska again. She had not given up on her vision of a passage through the Arctic and its potential to link the peoples of continents. In the fall of 1945, Gruber proposed that she should travel the whole length of the Alaskan Highway, from Dawson Creek, British Columbia, to Fairbanks, Alaska. Former Secretary of Interior Ickes was game to her idea. He pulled some strings behind the scenes. She was hired in some capacity by those who wanted to know about the civilian possibilities of the road.

The term highway is almost a misnomer. The Alaskan highway was surfaced with gravel, not pavement.[67] The road was to be turned over officially to Canada in 1946, but there were not as yet gasoline stations, repair shops or public lodging. Gruber told *Herald Tribune* readers:

> When Washington telephoned up to the commanding officer in Edmunton, Alberta, for permission to let me go, the colonel said roughly, "We aren't letting any woman drive on the Alaska Highway, least of all civilian

women. We've got no facilities to take care of women."[68]

Fortunately, for Gruber, the commanding officer's public relations officer was an Alaskan friend of hers. The PR officer reportedly told the colonel if any man could make it, then Gruber could. He is said to have told the colonel, "You don't know the plumbing that gal has lived with."[69]

The colonel reluctantly agreed, and Gruber set off with three cameras, DDT bomb, her favorite red-straw hat, plus cold- and warm-weather Arctic clothing she promised to test for the Army's Quartermaster General. With the characteristic humor Gruber often displayed when working with military administrators, she said, "The hat turned out to be the most useful piece of equipment I had, so useful that I recommended strong to the Quartermaster General that all G.I.s and WACs driving on the Alaskan Highway be issued a big straw hat (not necessarily a red one)."[70]

Facilities were not numbered among the courses for traveling the country road; rather it was constant sun, dust, washboard gravel -- and mosquitoes, deer flies amd "no see'ums,"all which buzzed around and sting. Gasoline, if found, cost 50 cents a gallon and more. The dust from the road coated the vehicle, the luggage and everything Gruber had brought along with her. She said of the adventure: "Every time you hit an innocent rock, the dust flies up and blinds you, and then settles back in your throat, your eyes, your ears and your nose."[71]

She praised the speed with which the Alaskan Highway was built. In nine short months, workers had laid down 1,500 miles through forests and mountains and swamps. Gruber said, "That is the miracle of the highway, not the engineering difficulties, which were exaggerated, but the speed with which the boys built it."[72]

Having recently escorted the boat of refugees from Italy to Osego, N.Y., she said she was more impressed with the fact that of men of all creeds worked together: Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and Greek Orthodox; white, Black, Indian and Eskimo.[73]

Gruber also catalogued the past perceptions of American lawmakers toward Alaskan landscape: "Some thought Alaska was a big icebox. Some thought it was one big goldmine. And some thought it was one big saloon."[74]

She said those perceptions had changed. The attack on Pearl Harbor had forced American officials to reassess Alaska's strategic location, that it lay in the center of the air routes to the Pacific. With this awareness came the construction of airfield weather stations, military installations and the Alaskan Highway. She said those who came to construct the highway came chocked full of prejudices, but the war changed their minds, with realization that Alaska had a genuine future. She said the development of Alaska also helped Americans to think of the world in terms of brotherhood because they realized the Alaska and Brazil are neighbors, that the ancestors of the Native American tribes migrated from Asia and Alaska as far as South America on an ancient Alaskan highway.[75]

She reminded readers about the potential military significance of the northern thoroughfare. During the war, the highway had been the "pencil-line to victory" because it guided flyers to Alaska and the Soviet Union, Gruber said. Signs along the way reflected the war humor: "Praise the Lord and keep your car a-rolling." or, "Hey, driver, keep on the road and out of the ditch. Help us lick that son of a Tojo."[76]

Gruber saw the undeveloped highway as a potential link in a system of thoroughfares that would eventually link the civilian populations of South America, North America, Asia, Europe and Africa. She told a group of high school students:

> I can see you helping Ivan Ivanovich and Ling Fu pump a flat tire. I can see you eating together at roadside stands in Asia and Europe. I can see you breaking a road through the dark forest of ancient prejudices, bringing to all people your passion for peace, welding around the whole world an iron chain of tolerance and understanding.[77]

A test in courage awaited her upon her return to New York. She was assigned by the *New York Herald Tribune* to cover the movement of Jewish refugees post-World War II. Gruber covered the Haganah-sponsored "Exodus 1947,"a river boat launched from an American port with the intention of picking up refugee passengers for disembarkment at Palestine against the British blockade. Gruber witnessed the return of the Jews of German ports, and reported it to the American audience, later putting the whole story under one cover in *Destination Palestine*.[78] Her photographs and excerpts from the story of Exodus were carried in *Life*, *Collier's*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, *The New Republic*, and *Survey Graphics*.[79]

In between times of covering the odyssey of the *Exodus*. Gruber flew to Cypress. Again, she filed first-hand stories and photographs of life of D.P.s. When Gruber viewed the camps at year later, 13,000 Jews still were detained there.[80] She also wrote and lectured about every aspect of the new nation Israel. While displaced persons waited for news of a home, stateside Ruth Gruber spoke of her concerns about D.P.s at all kinds of gatherings, even fashion shows, where the most serious consideration otherwise was whether town costumes and evening gowns had parts that could be removed for the practical woman.[81]

While Gruber was off reporting on the refugee camps, her political beliefs were again examined, this time in the espionage trial of Judith Coplon. Ruth Gruber's name was on a paper that the FBI found in Coplon's purse when the 28-year-old employee at the Department of Justice had been arrested. Reportedly the note said: “Gruber has been reported to have been a contact of F.A. Garanin of the Soviet Embassy, Wash.”[82] This time it was political columnist Westbrook Pegler who vitriolically questioned her role in Alaska, much in the same way that the political beliefs of others were examined by the Red Scare that fueled the HUAC Committee. In the column, Pegler said Dr. J.B. Matthews, the most known authority on the Communist infiltration and propaganda, found one of Gruber’s articles in a series called “Soviet Russia Today” listed by the Attorney General as “a straight Communist publication.”[83] The irony is that Gruber — at the time of the FBI investigation and of Pegler’s complaint -- was putting together a travel article about Israel getting ready for the American tourists and pilgrims to Israel, for the *New York Herald Tribune*.[84]

Instead, she was widely quoted in the newspapers about her Alaskan venture. In New York, Gruber said, “I never knew or heard of the Coplon girl until her name appeared in the newspapers. I never was a contact person for anyone. My job was not secretary to Mr. Ickes, which might imply I had access to secret papers. I had none.”[85]

Reached by telephone at his Maryland farm, Ickes confirmed that Ruth Gruber had never had access to his private or official papers. He said, “But I wouldn’t have the slightest hesitation to show them to her.”[86]

Ickes called Gruber “a damned able person.”[87] He added, “If that’s a test for the accuracy of the FBI, they better disband. . . . Some fool writes her name on a slip of paper and they try to smear her. If she’s a Red, I’m a Hottentot.”[88]

Several weeks later Pegler again brought up the issue of Ruth Gruber’s association with Ickes, in a syndicated column. He now called her “the dead-head employee on the payroll of the Alaska Railroad.”[89] In this second column, Pegler’s lumped the Coplon and Gruber together in

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his criticism, calling the journalist "another cheery and to some susceptible, irresistible bundle of bureaucratic femininity."[90]

Pegler said, furthermore, that Ickes characterized the attack on Gruber as "an outbreak of racial bigotry against an underprivileged minority." Pegler said, "The human rights division of the United Nations will surely make note of [this]."[91]

The columnist added Ickes' rate of exchange continued to fluctuate between Confederate dollars and Romanoff rubles: "Here we have a Hottentot-baiter in our midst all the time, serving on committees and subscribing to angry resolutions to camouflage his secret anti-Hottentotism. Wait until the Anti-Defamation League hears this!"[92]

Pegler said the "very charming lady asserts that she was not a Communist 10 years ago."[93] Then noted that she worked on a newspaper called Arctik's Bolchevik in the port of Igarka as a guest writer. The columnist wrote that Gruber actually worked for "the mock Republican *New York Herald Tribune*."[94] He again attacked her book about her visit to Soviet Russia, which he called a nippy narrative that mingled sexology with descriptive Sunday feature stuff, which she wrote while "on the cuff" of the Soviet Union. He criticized that three pieces she had written while working on the Alaska job were printed in *Soviet Russia Today*.[95]

Pegler then presented a longer laundry list of complaints against Gruber. He said that Gruber exaggerated the importance of her "pheedee degree." He said of her early biography: "Cranks threatened to kidnap her and men sent their pictures and urged her to marry them. But this passed and things got mighty dull when suddenly she got a fellowship to go abroad and study the problems of women."[96]

The columnist criticized that Gruber interviewed Prof. Otto Yullevich Schmidt, in Moscow, and mentored with Hanna Eisler, also targeted in the Red scares. He said Eleanor

Roosevelt butted in twice with the State Department to save Eisler. Pegler said Gruber had quite a time fighting off sex-starved wolves in the Arctic, He said "the very charming woman" crossed the Northern Sea, and had a "tendency to exaggerate the importance of things she does."[97]

Gruber weathered the firestorm. Her Alaska experience apparently was used to negate her work with Jewish refugees. She went on to author 10 books. Her career spans 60 decades. She wrote several books about the Alaskan experience, but most of them paralleled her coverage of the mass exodus of Jewish populations to Israel and the story of the new Jewish state, founded in 1948. She covered war stories, as well as stories about refugees and other displaced populations in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and the developing nations of Israel, Egypt, Vietnam, Korea and Ethiopia. She covered the airlifts of Jewish refugees out of Yemen, Iraq, North Africa, Rumania, Poland and the former Soviet Union. She has sought out people who have lived and worked during at the earlier story of Israel's development. Her work called *Destination Palestine: The Story of the Haganah Ship Exodus 1947* inspired the further fictional work and movie *Exodus*.

With political acumen, compassion, knowledge and humor, Ruth Gruber was apparently ahead of her time, searching for history, interpreting the economic realities and potentials of a new lands and old lands, exploring for her readers the economic potential of working together on a northern passage and a gateway to the near Middle East.[98] A study of her public life as a journalist and information officer does much to explain the oxymorons that arose and personal challenges that had to be overcome in reporting on the world populations during the Cold War.

Appendix A

Books by Ruth Gruber

Ahead of My Time: My Early Years as a Foreign Correspondent.

Destination Palestine: The Story of the Haganah Ship Exodus 1947 (New York: A.A. Wyn, 1948).

Felisa Rincon de Gautier: The Mayor of San Juan (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972).

Haven: The Unknown Story of 1,000 W.W.II Refugees (New York: Coward McCann, 1983).

Israel on the Seventh Day.

Israel Today: Land of Many Nations (New York: Hill & Wang, 1959).

Israel Without Tears (New York: A.A. Wyn, 1950).

I Went to the Soviet Arctic (New York: Viking Press, 1939).

Puerto Rico, Island of Promise (New York: Hill & Wang, 1960).

Rescue: The Exodus of the Ethiopian Jews (New York: Antheum Press, 1998).

They Came to Stay (Marjorie Margolies and Ruth Gruber (New York: McCann & Geohegan, 1976).

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23. Gruber, "Dickson Island, Hub of Arctic . . . ," *Herald Tribune* (November 3, 1935).

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"AMBIVALENT COLLEAGUES OF THE KANSAS BLACK PRESS: B.K. BRUCE AND S.W. JONES, 1890-1898"

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"AMBIVALENT COLLEAGUES OF THE KANSAS BLACK PRESS: B.K. BRUCE AND S.W. JONES, 1890-1898"

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Abstract

In the late-nineteenth century, black editors were influential in shaping public opinion through their newspapers, which acted as mechanisms that drew their readers together by providing a point of view about events, topics, and issues. This study examined newspapers edited by Blanche K. Bruce of Leavenworth and Samuel W. Jones of Wichita. The journalists' ideological positions and differing backgrounds affected how their newspapers addressed political advocacy, racial uplift, and lynching.

"AMBIVALENT COLLEAGUES OF THE KANSAS BLACK PRESS: B. K. BRUCE AND S. W. JONES, 1890-1898"

Introduction

On August 11, 1890, black leaders from counties throughout Kansas assembled in Salina, intent on choosing "a colored man for a position on the Republican ticket" that would be finalized at the state Republican convention in Topeka in less than a month.[1] After listening to speeches in favor of several nominees, the delegates voted their choice for state auditor-designate. Convention chairman W. B. Townsend of Leavenworth called for the tally, and John L. Waller of Lawrence emerged as the assembly's unanimous selection.

When the chairman announced Waller's name, cheers and shouts of celebration erupted from the crowd; men waved their hats and women shook their handkerchiefs.[2] Convention organizers welcomed such a show of unity among the delegates. Spirits were running high because factions and disagreements predicted by the white press and some black leaders had not marred the gathering.[3] African American leaders wanted to position themselves to exert pressure for black representation on the 1890 Republican state ticket, especially since a number of party loyalists had deserted the GOP and joined the Populist party.[4]

Among the delegates at Salina were B. K. Bruce of Leavenworth and S. W. Jones of Wichita, compeers in the Kansas black press in the 1890s. In all likelihood, Bruce and Jones had made their first acquaintance at the Salina convention. Bruce, a convention organizer, was slated to give Waller's nominating speech at the Topeka convention in September. Jones had attended the convention as one of nine Sedgwick County representatives.[5] Before the convention ended, Bruce and Jones were named to a standing committee asked to form a permanent state league, "nonpolitical in character, but which would consider the material interest of the race."[6] The paths of these men intersected at various points in the years that followed as they participated in the on-going debate among Kansas black editors about the status of African Americans in American society during the late nineteenth century.

This study examined cultural influences on Blanche K. Bruce and Samuel W. Jones, vital contributors to a developing newspaper network that connected African Americans in cities, small towns, and rural areas throughout Kansas.[7] Their ideological positions and differing backgrounds affected how their newspapers addressed three prominent race-related issues, politics and advocacy, racial uplift, and lynching.

Several reasons justify comparing these two editors who were part of a press that helped shape black communities in Kansas during this era. Bruce and Jones produced newspapers in two regions where more dense populations of African Americans lived. Bruce joined the *Leavenworth Advocate* as co-editor in 1890 and published the *Leavenworth Herald* from 1894 to 1898. In Wichita, Jones assumed editorial control of the *National Baptist World* in 1894 and later headed the *National Reflector* staff from 1897 to 1898. As prominent leaders in their communities, both men actively sought to define the role of blacks in Kansas society through their newspapers. Even though Bruce and Jones believed that racial uplift would advance the overall social and economic position of African Americans, they disagreed in how to respond to growing violence and discrimination that blacks faced throughout the United States. Bruce and Jones held differing ideological positions; consequently, they proposed and advocated alternative means to resolve those issues.

In the late 1880s, more newspapers were produced in Kansas per capita than any other state.[8] Many of the historical accounts about the Kansas press during the nineteenth century have focused on the state's frontier newspapers.[9] Yet, newspapers that targeted African American readers also constituted a vital dimension of Kansas press history. This study takes an in-depth look at two African American journalists who edited newspapers in Kansas during the expansive phase of black press development.[10]

The late nineteenth century played an important part in black press history, and media historians generally recognize the black press as one social institutions that enabled black Americans to cope with social, economic, and political barriers they faced in the post-Reconstruction years.[11] Newspapers owned and edited by African Americans provided a forum for political communication among black leaders and promoted the development of identity and community as African Americans sought economic gains and educational opportunities. Black editors were influential in shaping public opinion through their newspapers. As they provided their points of view about events, topics, and issues, the newspapers became mechanisms that drew readers together.[12] In Kansas, local black newspapers communicated information and fostered connections among black communities within the state as well as across the country.[13]

Black press historians have made little mention of specific Kansas editors, such as Bruce and Jones, nor they have taken much of an in-depth look at individual newspapers published in Kansas during this time.[14] Rashey B. Moten's "The Negro Press of Kansas" was one of the first, and most thorough, survey studies of black newspapers produced in a single state.[15] Moten identified factors that affected the development of black newspapers in Kansas, including politics, the Exoduster migration, and the lack of coverage by white newspapers. He found that the press created political spheres of influence for black leaders. While Moten identified several Kansas black press editors by name, including a brief reference to S. W. Jones as editor of the *National Baptist World*, he did not mention B. K. Bruce or either of the Leavenworth newspapers.[16]

Some thirty years later, Marie Deacon wrote her master's thesis on black newspapers published in Kansas during the 1890s, including those newspapers edited by Bruce and Jones.[17] She found that the newspapers reflected the political, social, and legal status of black Kansans, playing a pivotal role in establishing self-definition and racial identity. While Deacon noted Bruce in relation to educational issues and cited the *National Reflector*, she made no specific reference to Jones as its editor.

In her chapter of *The Black Press in the Middle West*, Dorothy V. Smith explored how Reconstruction, the ideology of the times, and economic factors affected the newspapers in Kansas.[18] Smith only named the early Wichita and Leavenworth papers and made no reference to editors Bruce and Jones. Two studies have focused on the Parsons *Weekly Blade*, issued in the southeastern region of the state.[19] *Weekly Blade* editors S. O. Clayton and J. Monroe Dorsey were contemporaries of Bruce and Jones. These studies of the *Weekly Blade* focus primarily on content of the paper and do not explore the its relationship to other newspapers in the state.

This present study contributes to the history of the late-nineteenth century Kansas black press by comparing newspapers that were published in the two other regions of the state, northeast and south-central, in which the African American population was concentrated.[20] Limiting the study to two specific editors and their newspapers revealed ways in which the journalists communicated their positions on race-related issues and, in the process, extended their communities beyond geographic boundaries.

The Times in which They Lived

During the 1870s, black Americans from the South migrated westward to improve their economic, social, and political conditions. The *Colored Citizen* of Topeka encouraged those who were hardworking and industrious to settle in Kansas.[21] "We have plenty of room and plenty of land for all," wrote the editor of the state's first black-owned newspaper.[22] Some newly arrived Exodusters, as the emigrants came to be called, managed to purchase land for farming. Others sought odd jobs or worked as laborers and domestics, settling in cities and towns in eastern Kansas.[23] Many of the emigrants who flooded into Wyandotte, on the Kansas side of Missouri River, dispersed to other river communities of Leavenworth, Lawrence, Topeka, and Atchison.[24] Exodusters from Texas moved to Parsons, Weir City and other towns in the southeast corner.[25] Blacks also clustered in Wichita and nearby towns in the south-central region.[26]

As black settlers sought to establish themselves on the Kansas frontier, African Americans began newspapers. By the late 1880s, black newspapers published in white-majority communities were distributed throughout the state, including the *Leavenworth Advocate*, the *American Citizen* in Kansas City, the *Western Recorder* of Lawrence, the *Atchison Blade*, the *Eagle* in Weir City, and the *Wichita Globe*. When Bruce and Jones started their newspapers in 1894, some 40 black newspapers already had emerged in Kansas rural and urban communities.[27]

Like their journalist counterparts, editors B. K. Bruce and S. W. Jones promoted their perspectives on issues in their newspapers, the Leavenworth *Advocate*, the *Leavenworth Herald*, the *National Baptist World*, and the *National Reflector*. These newspapers served as outlets for political advocacy. Bruce and Jones saw politics as a viable means to improve the status of African Americans in Kansas. As evidenced by their attendance at the 1890 Salina convention, both men participated in politics at the state level. Through their newspapers the editors sought to draw more black voters into the political process. Bruce sometimes pushed his own political ambitions in his newspapers. While Bruce and Jones believed education, right living, and business ownership would help attain good standing among whites and blacks in their communities, they disagreed as to how African Americans should deal with lynching. Jones advocated for agitation, but Bruce argued that cooperation was the better response.

B. K. Bruce, Leavenworth *Advocate* (1890-1891) and *Leavenworth Herald* (1894-1898)

Bruce, a career educator, got his start in journalism in 1890 when editor W. B. Townsend of the *Leavenworth Advocate* invited him to join the paper as its co-editor. Four months earlier, Townsend had started studying law at State University in Lawrence.[28] Initially Townsend tried to maintain the *Advocate* as well as concentrate on his law studies. He soon found himself spending considerable time out of town, staying in Lawrence during the week and returning to Leavenworth only on weekends.[29] In Townsend's absence, the paper suffered. Readership appeared to wane and ready print, rather than original copy, filled much of the newspaper.[30]

With the start of spring semester classes, Bruce and businessmen A. H. Walton bought into the newspaper and printing business.[31] Townsend announced the change in management and promised readers that the *Advocate*'s policies would remain the same, "a stalwart Republican paper, and a fearless advocate for the rights of our people."[32] Bruce took over editorial duties at the paper in Townsend's absence. John L. Waller, an attorney who had edited the *Western Recorder* of Lawrence in the early 1880s, joined the staff as assistant editor, and O. A. Harris became city editor.

Bruce stayed on the *Advocate* staff after Townsend graduated with a law degree in May 1891 and returned to Leavenworth, where he set up a law practice. The newspaper continued publishing until that August. No reason was given for its demise. The following year Bruce devoted much of his energy to campaigning as the Republican candidate for state auditor, but he lost in the general election.[33]

Co-editing the *Advocate* and running for political office increased Bruce's prominence beyond of the Leavenworth community. Born on a farm near Brunswick, Missouri in 1859, Bruce came to Kansas as a young man in his early twenties.[34] He came to enroll at State University in Lawrence on January 5, 1880.[35] At that time, state universities in Missouri and Oklahoma did not allow blacks to attend, and the Kansas university practiced open admission and free tuition, with students paying for board and books.[36] Also Bruce had an uncle living in Leavenworth, H. C. Bruce, who had fled there from Missouri in 1864 to escape slavery.[37]

In 1885, Bruce became the first black student to graduate from the university.[38] He settled in Leavenworth after being hired as principal of the South Leavenworth Colored School, later renamed Sumner School.[39] He married Mary E. Burns, "one of the most highly cultured ladies and teachers in Kansas," in Leavenworth in 1886.[40] Mrs. Bruce also taught at the South Leavenworth school.[41]

Several years after the *Leavenworth Advocate* had expired, Bruce founded the *Leavenworth Herald* in February 1894. He established the *Herald* because blacks in Leavenworth and Kansas needed a newspaper that would present "to all citizens the brighter, nobler and manlier side of our people, a phase not gleaned from the daily press."[42]

Editing another newspaper again expanded Bruce's sphere of influence beyond the classroom. As *Leavenworth Herald* editor, Bruce wanted to be recognized as a journalist rather than a newspaper man because the two, according to him, were not synonymous. He articulated this distinction on the *Herald*'s editorial page:

> In short, a journalist is something like a doctor: A doctor writes a prescription for some sort of disease which he thinks you are troubled with. If he is lucky, you live; if he is unlucky you die. So with the journalist: If he pleases the people alright; if he doesn't please them, alright. The newspaperman studies to please, and generally pleases.[43]

According to Bruce, journalists needed to maintain unwavering principles based on sound convictions. Bruce intended the *Herald* to be a forum for "honest discussion on all questions pertaining to the race."[44] This conviction to debate ideas sometimes placed Bruce in the midst of controversy among his fellow journalists.

S. W. Jones, *National Baptist World* (1894)
and *National Reflector* (1897-1898)

The same year that Bruce began the *Leavenworth Herald*, Samuel Wilson Jones became editor of the *National Baptist World*, a consolidation of the *Afro-American Baptist* and the *Baptist Headlight* that had relocated from Topeka to Wichita.[45] Jones, a printer by trade, wrote that he had taken on the role as proprietor and managing editor because he was convinced that "an organ of this kind is an absolute necessity."[46] Jones intended to run the paper "strictly in the interest of the Baptist church and my race, and I expect with the assistance of the church to maks [sic] it a paper that is second to no other journal in this country."[47]

While Jones managed the newspaper, he also worked in law enforcement. The citizens of Wichita had elected Jones as the city's first black public official, and he had assumed his duties as constable in 1894.[48] On at least one occasion Marshall Murdock, stalwart city leader and longtime publisher of *The Wichita Eagle*, praised Jones for his character as he switched between roles as constable and journalist. Murdock wrote:

> It is not often that a constable is imbued with a deep religious sentiment, but Sam is an exception. He can drop the editorial pen at any hour of the day, buckle on his six-shooter, give chase to a chicken thief, and return to write the glories of the Baptist faith without the least disturbance in the realm of his thought.[49]

Jones worked on the Wichita police force until he joined the Twenty-third Regiment Kansas Volunteer Infantry in July 1898.[50] He served in Cuba for about six months during the

Spanish-American War.[51] Jones commanded Company E, the regiment of Wichita and Sedgwick County volunteers.

Like B. K. Bruce, Jones also had ties to Leavenworth, where he was born March 10, 1867. He moved with his family to Wichita in 1874 and became the first black to attend Wichita public schools.[52] Before getting his start in journalism, Jones toured with a minstrel band in 1884, playing the sliding trombone. He returned to Wichita in the late 1880s and worked as foreman in a print shop.[53] Jones sang bass in a vocal quarter that frequently performed at church and community functions.[54] In 1891, the Indianapolis *Freeman* carried an announcement of Jones's marriage to Mary Covington, "one of the leading society ladies" in Wichita's black community.[55] After their wedding, the couple moved in with Mary's parents, J. H. and Virginia Covington on North Water Street, where they continued to live after their two sons were born.[56]

While Jones edited the *National Baptist World*, two other black newspapers also were publishing in Wichita, *The People's Friend* and the *Kansas Headlight.* As an organ of the church, the *National Baptist World* officially purported political independence.[57] *The People's Friend* supported the Republican party, though the editor asserted the primary intent was not political, but rather to "publish a first class colored newspaper here in the city in the interest of our people."[58] Jones had worked as print foreman for *The People's Friend* before starting the Baptist paper.[59] The *Kansas Headlight*, edited by William "Will" A. Bettis, aligned itself with the Populist Party and lasted less than six weeks.[60] Juggling the responsibilities of the newspaper and his police work may have become more than Jones could handle. Even though the *National Baptist World* outlived its competition, the paper expired after publishing only four months.[61]

Several years later Jones took over the *National Reflector*, a paper that had made its debut with George Wesley White as editor in 1895. The newspaper had gone through series editorial staff changes until Jones took over as publisher and editor in January 1897. Long-time newspaperman Will Bettis, back in the fold of the Republican party, joined the staff as associate editor later that summer. Bettis, a barber by trade, also played an active role in the community, where he organized city-wide events, established a reading room, and participated in local social and literary debates.[62] By May 1897, Jones and Bettis owned and operated a profitable printing company that printed the *National Reflector*, with Jones as editor-in-chief, Bettis as associate editor, and White as city editor.[63]

Writing Things as They Saw Them

The Leavenworth and Wichita newspapers became essential means through which B. K. Bruce and S. W. Jones addressed concerns that affected people in their communities. Three prominent issues covered the newspapers were political advocacy, racial uplift, and lynching. An examination of these issues provides clues to the personal motivations and ideologies of Bruce and Jones.

Political Advocacy

Since before the Civil War black Americans had turned to politics as a way to gain equality. Once suffrage was granted, African American voters helped determine the outcome of some elections.[64] Bruce and Jones, like many African Americans in Kansas, viewed participation in politics as a mechanism through which they could exert influence to advance the cause for full citizenship.[65] Both editors actively participated in Republican party politics. Many black voters in Kansas sided with the party of Lincoln in gratitude for abolishing slavery, even though they frequently encountered indifference to their concerns from white Republican-elected officials.[66] As candidate for state auditor in 1892, Bruce had gained clout with party leaders. Even though he was defeated, Bruce boasted that he had drawn more votes than any previous black candidate.[67] In 1894 he made another, though unsuccessful, run for the Republican state auditor nominee position.[68] After the general election, the elect-secretary of state appointed Bruce as a clerk in his office for his efforts to promote the Republicans' cause.[69] Jones also was active in the Republican politics. That year Jones represented Sedgwick County as a delegate to the Republican state convention.[70] Though Jones did not run for a state office, he was elected constable for the city of Wichita on the Republican ticket.

Bruce and Jones used their newspapers as instruments for political advocacy. The Leavenworth and Wichita newspapers conveyed election information, endorsed candidates, and urged readers to register and vote.[71] As co-editor of the Leavenworth *Advocate*, Bruce was part of the core group who pulled off the successful Salina convention that mobilized black leaders to support a black nominee for the state ticket in 1890.[72] Two years later, Bruce campaigned for Republican E. N. Morrill's run for governor. Morrill defeated Populist incumbent Governor Lorenzo Lewelling. According to Bruce, the press played a valuable role Morrill's win, especially the *Leavenworth Herald*. After the election, Bruce wrote:

> The power of the press is conceded by all. Its constant and silent influence moulds, shapes and directs the destiny of nations. It is the most potent actor in the civilization of mankind. Such being the case, THE HERALD did its part....In all the campaign THE HERALD said more good things about Major Morrill than all the papers in this county.[73]

Besides supporting political candidates, Bruce also used his newspaper as a forum to promote his personal political agenda. Bruce wrote in the salutatory that the *Leavenworth Herald* was a "staunch Republican paper," giving its support to the party that had done more for "those who are struggling for life in the great scale of existence" than either the Democratic or Populist parties.[74] John M. Brown, a black leader from Topeka, had opposed Bruce's candidacy for state auditor. When Brown sought a nomination on the Republican ticket in 1894, Bruce lashed out against him in the *Herald.* He accused Brown of being a self-serving Republican. "The Republicans of Kansas are onto his little trick and have decided to let him bolt," wrote Bruce of Brown. "A man who is a Republican for office only is a dead weight on the party, and the quicker he is stopped the better."[75]

While Bruce stirred up political rivalry through his newspaper, Jones tended to distance himself from political factions and controversy. He officially maintained that his newspapers were politically independent; yet even in the *National Baptist World*, a religious newspaper, Jones conveyed his Republican partisanship. Growing momentum of the Populist party concerned many black Republicans, including Jones in the early 1890s. By 1893, a significant number of Kansas blacks had begun to shift to the Populist Party.[76] When Jones reported the demise of the *Kansas Headlight*, the short-lived Populist paper in Wichita, he concurred with another black newspaper's about the *Headlight*'s fate.[77] Jones wrote:

> ...we desire the success of race institutions and race enterprises, but neither of these was the Headlight; it was nothing more than a fake established for temporary momentary gain of a few ward-heeler politicians and a bulldozing campaign sheet with sincerity of purpose, and deserved its fate.[78]

As time passed, Jones expressed in the *National Reflector* some of his growing disillusion about the Republican party shared by some African Americans in Kansas. He wrote that Republicans practiced prejudice and ingratitude by granting meager appointments, such as janitor jobs, to African Americans. "The time has passed when such political clap-trap no longer interests the colored voters of Kansas," Jones wrote.[79] He further asserted that political affiliations and "petty office seeking" should not come before race pride and race advancement.[80]

Regarding political appointments, Jones raised B. K. Bruce's ire when the *National Reflector* chose not to endorse ex-Senator B. K. Bruce of Mississippi, uncle of the *Leavenworth*

Herald editor, as register of the treasury.[81] Jones wrote that the ex-Senator "is sufficiently well fixed in this world's goods to stand aside for some other deserving man of the race."[82] Ex-Senator B. K. Bruce had previously served as register to the treasury in 1881 and managed to receive successive appointments in Washington, D. C.[83]

The younger Bruce, as his uncle's namesake, relished in the former Mississippi senator's success and took pride in his own ties with the black elite in Washington, D. C.[84] Because Bruce and his uncle shared the same name, confusion sometimes resulted as to who was whom, a mistake Bruce appeared to appreciate. On one occasion, the *Leavenworth Advocate* ran a notice about Bruce and several other local black businessmen who served as board of directors for the Eureka Building Loan & Investment Association in Leavenworth.[85] The following week, the *Advocate* reprinted an excerpt from the Indianapolis *Freeman*, which reported that a "syndicate of prominent colored men" had been formed in Washington, D. C., that handled real estate and loans. Because "B. K. Bruce" was listed in the notice, the *Freeman* had assumed the enterprise was located in the nation's capital. The *Advocate* corrected the *Freeman* editor by writing: "The above syndicate is not in Washington D. C., but is a Leavenworth concern. The 'Freeman' must have got mixed on the name B. K. Bruce, who lives in Washington D. C. We have a B. K. Bruce out here who is principal in one of our schools and who is a nephew of the ex-Senator."[86]

Racial Uplift

Class consciousness, evidenced by Bruce's valued family ties in nation's capitol city, also reflected itself in other ways in the Leavenworth and Wichita newspapers. As members of an emerging black middle class, both Bruce and Jones used the press to promote economic and social advancement of blacks in their communities. Uplift ideology of the late-nineteenth century connoted education, social mobility, and a positive self-identity for black Americans.[87] Members of the black elite pointed to class distinctions as evidence of racial advancement, particularly evidenced in how one managed character and behavior. Racial uplift embraced economic self-help ideology, education, evangelical reform, and political and equal rights.[88]

Racial uplift became the response of many African Americans to the social inequities they faced in Kansas. The U. S. Supreme Court's separate-but-equal ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 reinforced the concept of parallel development that influenced racial relations in Kansas. Parallel development meant that blacks deserved equal rights before the law, but they should occupy a separate place in society and develop independently.[89] With this distinction between social and civil equality, whites could exclude African Americans from hospitals, hotels, restaurants, and other areas that were not considered essential for their well-being.

Consequently, even though African Americans in Kansas did not experience the overt discrimination and prejudice of the South, they might face exclusion, segregation, or integration when accessing public facilities, encountering the legal system, and seeking employment.[90] Hotels, restaurants, and theaters were segregated, and some refused service to black patrons. Africans Americans were excluded from white churches and hospitals. Wichita schools, though, remained integrated, while Leavenworth and most other Kansas cities had segregated schools.[91] By the 1890s, black and white Wichitans lived in segregated residential areas, clearly marked by geographic boundaries and black customers patronized black-owned businesses.[92] The fact that African Americans in Wichita lived in segregated areas and frequented black-owned businesses reflected an American society that endorsed different social spheres for blacks and whites.[93]

In this setting, Jones experienced mixed responses working as constable, a job that brought him into contact with whites as well as blacks. Wichita's white-owned press both commended and criticized Jones. The *Wichita Times* had determined that the 27-year-old Jones, well-known for

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wearing a full handlebar mustache, was "a young colored man well and favorable [*sic*] known in this city."[94] *The Wichita Beacon*, though, took a different perspective on Jones. Evidently, the newspaper had published several malicious articles about Jones written by a reporter who believed a black officer did not have a right to arrest a white man, let alone the hold an official city position.[95] In the reporter's eyes, Jones's skin color not only determined whether he could carry out his official responsibilities as a law officer, but also determined his civil rights.

Through the newspapers Jones and Bruce countered the negative coverage in mainstream newspapers. They viewed their newspapers both as a tool for and a product of an advancing race. Seeing that blacks in Wichita were overlooked or demeaned by the mainstream press, Jones expressed this concern shortly after becoming editor of the *National Baptist World*: "None who have an interest in the elevation and future development of the race can easily deny the necessity of colored newspapers. The papers published by the whites take but little notice of the praise-worthy accomplishments of our people."[96] Through the newspaper, Jones sought to provide an avenue to address political, social, and economic concerns of African Americans.

For Bruce, "the colored press [was] one of the most powerful agencies that labors for the upbuilding of the race."[97] Not only did he want to provide readers with current news and information, but Bruce intended to "chronicle the progress in science, literature and art, [as well as] note the financial and material advancement of the colored people of the state and Union."[98] As the literacy of blacks increased, newspapers took on a role once reserved for the spoken words of preachers, teachers, and orators.[99] Consequently, as the race advanced, Bruce believed there was a greater dependence on the press.

The newspapers edited by Jones and Bruce reflected the ideology promoted by Booker T. Washington, which embraced development black businesses and an emphasis on thriftiness,

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industry, and racial solidarity.[100] August Meier argued that the philosophy of promoting economics over politics, which appeared even before Washington gained national prominence, was an indirect response to overt and covert discrimination experienced by blacks after Reconstruction.[101] Blacks believed that once they proved themselves by acquiring wealth and respectability, prejudice and discrimination by whites would diminish.[102]

For Bruce, the newspaper became a vehicle through which he could encourage business ownership by African Americans. He believed black-owned business provided jobs for young people. When Bruce started the *Leavenworth Herald*, he adopted the policy of the *Leavenworth Advocate* set by founder N. Clark Smith. The *Advocate* had claimed to be the only black-owned newspaper in the state that had its own material and employed "colored boys" as typesetters.[103] Several years later, Bruce chose Will Harris as his business manager at the *Herald.* Will Harris one of the boys who had trained as a typesetter at the *Advocate.*[104]

Jones also promoted aspects of Washington's philosophy for elevating the race. His newspapers emphasized the importance of seeking racial solidarity; developing moral character of hard work, frugality and honesty; and establishing business enterprises through industrial education and gainful employment.[105] In the *National Baptist World,* Jones suggested that blacks take lower paying jobs, if necessary. According to Jones, "real downright and straightforward industry will do more to solve the Negro problem than anything else that we can name. The honest and industrious always have the respect of the better classes of society, white or black."[106] Jones endorsed the gospel of wealth and right living as the avenues for advancing the race, but he also placed emphasis on advocacy by calling for equal protection under the law against discrimination and violence in the paper.[107]

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While Bruce and Jones emphasized black entrepreneurship as a key component of racial uplift, they also endorsed education for children as a long-term way to solve problems associated with race.[108] As a professional educator and university graduate, Bruce took a decided stand in support of education. He urged high school students to attend college in Kansas because the schools admitted blacks.[109] Bruce also thought the state should furnish school books in public schools at no cost because requirements to purchase books kept some black children from attending school.[110]

Lynching

Differences were less apparent between Jones and Bruce regarding racial uplift, but an ideological clash was most striking in their responses to the lynching. After Reconstruction had ended, lynching of African Americans become regular occurrences in the United States. Beginning in 1882, the *Chicago Tribune* had kept official records of lynchings. The *Tribune* recorded more than 2,500 blacks who were lynched in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[111] The high-water mark was 1892, when more than 150 blacks were lynched.[112] In Kansas, miner Jeff Luggle was charged with murder and lynched in Cherokee County in 1894.[113] The vast majority of lynchings, though, occurred in the South. Nonetheless, Jones and Bruce regularly addressed this issue of growing violence.

In June 1897, *National Reflector* editor Jones and associate editor Bettis queried African American leaders throughout Kansas about forming an anti-lynching association. They wrote:

> Our plan is to organize a State League, the mission or purpose of which shall be to thoroughly organize the State into county leagues, for the purpose of discouraging mob violence and lynch law, agitating public sentiment, with a view to providing adequate punishment for these hell-hounds who override the law...What we need is an organization of sincere men who will work for the interest of the race and not for political aggrandizement.[114]

As the first step, Wichita journalists Jones and Bettis called for a gathering of representatives from communities throughout the state who would "work for the interest of the race and not political grandizement."[115] In the past, those who attended such meetings had rigorously debated issues and passed resolutions, but no one took action. What was needed, the *National Reflector* asserted, were "men who are willing to act as well as resolve."[116]

Recent news of a near lynching in Great Bend, Kansas, may have provided an impetus for the *National Reflector* initiative. William Jeltz, former editor of *The People's Friend* in Wichita, got involved in a quarrel over money bet in a billiards game. Jeltz stabbed his opponent, who was white, and fatally injured him. The former newspaperman fled the scene but was arrested and taken to jail. A group of white townsmen intent on lynching him were held off by local African Americans who threatened to "lynch the lynchers."[117] While the *National Reflector* did not judge Jeltz's actions, the paper called for a fair trial.[118]

Because other black leaders in the state responded positively to the editors proposal, Jones and Bettis proceeded with their plan to form the statewide organization that would agitate for public awareness against lynching and discourage mobs from overriding the law.[119] The *National Reflector* wrote of one lone dissenter, *Leavenworth Herald* editor B. K. Bruce. Even though Bruce's long-time associate W. B. Townsend had pledged his support to the *National Reflector* editors, the Leavenworth editor refused to endorse the plan. According to Bruce, "it was far better to agitate the making of the very best American citizenship, which means that the colored people should bend [*sic*] their time and energy to the building of better homes, to the acquiring of more of the luxuries of life, and above all, to producing a better, more refined and cultured people in Kansas."[120]

The *National Reflector* accused Bruce of advocating lynching of white men as a deterrent to the lynching of blacks.[121] Bruce countered the charge. He did not support lynching as a way to resolve the crime problem. Instead he believed cooperation rather than agitation was the way to elevate the race. According to the *Leavenworth Herald*, the only way to stop lynching was to educate "a people in the path of right-doing, rear the youth to respect the weaker sex, and crimes will cease."[122] In part to protest against the anti-lynching league, Bruce removed the *National Reflector* from the *Leavenworth Herald*'s exchange list.[123]

Bruce's opposition against the anti-lynching league reflected his heated criticism of Ida B. Wells's anti-lynching efforts several years earlier. He was one of few black editors in Kansas who challenged her assertion that many of those lynched were innocent of any crime. Wells had became a lightening rod in the debate over lynching. In her efforts to raise public awareness about the injustice of mob law, she traveled in England and 1893 and 1894 where she lectured on lynching in the United States.

Bruce saw no benefit in Wells addressing the English about lynching. To one of his critics, Bruce responded:

> It matters not whether she tells the truth or not, the cold, stern fact remains that when she finishes her tour our condition will be and remain the same until by our own conduct make it better.[124]

While she was England the second time, Bruce wrote, "Come home, Miss Wells, and make your appeal to Americans for Americans .... Agitation in foreign lands has no weight, does not accomplish anything, and when it is all over, our people, as before, must face their condition as it exists here."[125] He accused Wells of enhancing her own notoriety that "enables her to fill her purse."[126] Though Bruce never explicitly referred to gender in his criticism of Wells, he wrote that

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she had overstepped her bounds and "delegated herself the care and keeping of the entire colored population in the United States."[127]

Even the white press took notice of Bruce's attacks. The *Kansas City Star* accused the Leavenworth editor of organizing "a revolt among his people against Ida B. Wells."[128] Bruce countered, "When a lady presents an idea, the idea is open to discussion. We discuss the *idea* and not the *lady*."[129] Bruce viewed Wells as a sensational lecturer whose objective was to "stir up race antagonism, create strife, embitter and foster antipathy."[130] Again, Bruce revealed his alignment with Washington's accommodationist philosophy by urging cooperation with whites. Bruce wrote, "In very plain language, it is better for the man in the cage to make friends with the lion than to make friends with the fellow outside."[131]

Bruce took particular issue with Wells after she spoke in Leavenworth during the summer of 1894.[132] In her presentation, Wells had asserted:

> There is an organ of the race in this city which states that *"our people must observe the laws, become wealthy educated and refined if they wish to prosper in this country,"* thus implying that those who are lynched belong to the "tough" element. This is vile slander upon our people and should be condemned in unmeasured terms by every lover of the race. It is not the "tough" element that is lynched, but it is the better element--those who are becoming wealthy, educated and refined.[133]

On the contrary, Bruce retorted, it generally was the "tougher element" who were lynched. Bruce believed that Wells's assertions insulted those who were hardworking and law-abiding because he viewed her claims as an inference that African Americans who had advanced economically would be lynched.[134]

While Bruce opposed Wells, Jones had defended her against criticism from the mainstream press as well as Bruce and other black editors. Jones wrote: "Despite the many attacks through the press, and otherwise, made upon Miss Ida Wells, the brave little lady who has taken a bold stand against Southern lynching, her efforts are bringing for the good already."[135] Following Wells's Winfield visit near Wichita, Jones published a letter to the editor that praised her as "a voice in this great wilderness, ... which is to call the christian [*sic*] and liberty loving part of this nation to the defense of a weak and helpless people, that is being murdered daily by the merciless whites of the south."[136] One lengthy article in the *National Baptist World* used biblical analogies to suggest that the efforts of Queen Esther, alias Ida B. Wells, might sweep lynch law "behind the shadows of the past, gone to return no more.[137]

One reason Jones supported Wells was the apparent results from English tours, particularly the anti-lynching league established in England. Shortly after Wells's return in May 1894, Sir John E. Gorst, a member of Parliament, traveled to the United States on behalf of the English anti-lynching league to prepare an official report on the status of lynching in the South. The *National Baptist World* welcomed Gorst's visit and the apparent receptivity of some southern politicians and clergy who had agreed to meet with him.[138]

Conclusion

As members of the Kansas black press in 1890s, editors B. K. Bruce and S. W. Jones addressed political advocacy, racial uplift, and lynching in their newspapers. Their ideological positions and backgrounds influenced how they addressed race-related issues in the papers. While these journalists agreed on some concerns, their positions clashed on other issues.

Both editors viewed participation in politics as an avenue in which they would exert influence and recognition. Bruce often promoted his own political ambitions through the newspaper. The *Leavenworth Herald* was aligned closely with the Republican party, which may explain in part why the paper lasted longer than either of the papers edited by Jones, which were distanced from political affiliations. In the *National Reflector*, Jones expressed some misgivings as to whether African Americans received much benefit for supporting the Republican party.

Jones and Bruce endorsed black entrepreneurship as a key component of their positions on racial uplift. Labor and education were central to their beliefs about advancing the race. Bruce particularly emphasized education as a way to resolve racial problems.

The editors conflicted most dramatically over lynching. Jones endorsed organized agitation to protest the violence against African Americans and due process in the courts while Bruce sought cooperation with the white majority. The problem, according to Bruce, would be resolved if lower class of blacks gained employment since he believed their behavior and character contributed to the lynching problem.

Through their newspapers, Bruce and Jones offered readers differing perspectives. The newspapers provided a forum for dialogue in print about events and issues. Readers in Leavenworth and Wichita became privy to the editors' sometimes contentious interchanges that reveal, to some degree, a diversity of views held by African Americans in Kansas in the 1890s.

[1] "A CALL FOR A STATE CONVENTION OF LEADING COLORED MEN," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 19 July 1890; Randall B. Woods, *A Black Odyssey: John Lewis Waller and the Promise of American Life, 1878-1900* (Lawrence, KS: Regents of Kansas Press, 1981): 104-106.

[2] "The Convention," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 16 August 1890.

[3] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 19 July 1890; 26 July 1890; 16 August 1890; Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 105.

[4] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 19 July 1890, 26 July 1890.

[5] "The Convention," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 16 August 1890.

[6] "The Convention," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 16 August 1890.

[7] Kansas State Historical Society library has a collection of more than 40 extant black newspapers published in Kansas from the late 1870s to the 1890s. The growth of the black press in Kansas was not unlike that of other states and regions in the United States during this time. The number of publications had increased nationally from twelve newspapers in 1866 to nearly 600 in 1890, though many of the papers were short-lived. See Armistead S. Pride, "Negro Newspapers: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," *Journalism Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Spring 1951): 180-81. For the growth and development of the Black press in other midwestern states, see Henry Lewis Suggs, The *Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996).

[8] Don W. Wilson, "Barbed Words on the Frontier: Early Kansas Newspaper Editors," *Kansas History* 1, no. 3 (Autumn 1978): 147-154.

[9] See G. Raymond Gaeddert, "First Newspapers in Kansas Counties, 1854-1864," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (February 1941): 3-33; Gaeddert, "First Newspapers in Kansas Counties (Continued), 1865-1871," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (May 1941): 124-149; Gaeddert, "First Newspapers in Kansas Counties (Continued), 1871-1879," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 3 (August 1941): 299-323; Gaeddert, "First Newspapers in Kansas Counties (Concluded), 1879-1886," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 10, no. 4 (November 1941): 380-412; Robert R. Dykstra, *Cattle Towns* (New York: Knopf, 1968); Wilson, "Barbed Words on the Frontier: Early Kansas Newspaper Editors"; Eleanor L. Turk, "The German Newspapers of Kansas," *Kansas History* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 46-64.

One of the best-known small town editors from Kansas was William Allen White of the *Emporia Gazette*. See Walter Johnson, "William Allen White: Country Editor, 1897-1914," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (February 1947): 1-21; John DeWitt McKee, *William Allen White: Maverick on Main Street* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975); Jean Lange Folkerts, "William Allen White's Anti-Populist Rhetoric as an Agenda-Setting Technique," *Journalism Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 28-34; Edward Gale Agran, *Too Good a Town: William Allen White, Community, and the Emerging Rhetoric of Middle America* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998).

[10] Emigration of blacks to Kansas was one factor that contributed to the expansion of the black press in the nineteenth century. See Bernell E. Tripp, "Extending the Boundaries: 19th-century Historical Influences on Black Press Development," a paper presented at the American Journalist Historians Association (October, 1998): 16. For the major phases of black press development, see Frederick G. Detweiler, *The Negro Press in the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922): 37; Armistead Scott Pride, "A Register and History of Negro Newspapers in the United States: 1827-1950," doctoral dissertation (Northwestern University, 1950): 5; Henry G. La Brie III, *A Survey of Black Newspapers* (Kennebunkport, ME: Mercer House Press, 1979): 10; Lauren Kessler, "The Freedom Train," *The Dissident Press* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1984): 34-39; Jannette L. Dates and William Barlow, *Split Image* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990): 344-360; Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press: With Special Reference to Four Newspapers, 1827-1965* (McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998): 5-24.

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[11] Martin E. Dann, ed. *The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971); Kessler, *The Dissident Press*; Charlotte G. O'Kelly, "Black Newspapers and the Black Protest Movement: Their Historical Relationship, 1827-1945." *Phylon* 43, no. 1 (1982): 1-14.

[12] Bernell E. Tripp, "The Media and Community Cohesiveness," in *The Significance of the Media in American History*, eds. James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1994): 147-67; Kevin Kusmer, "The Black Urban Experience in History," in *The State of Afro-American History: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Darlene Clark Hines (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986): 91-122.

[13] Thomas C. Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas, 1865-1915: A Social History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982): 83.

[14] Dann included excerpts from the *Leavenworth Advocate* and other Kansas papers in his collection of articles from selected Black newspapers in *The Black Press*, 181, 230, 289; Rashey B. Moten, "The Negro Press of Kansas," master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1938; Teresa C. Klassen and Owen V. Johnson, "Sharpening of the *Blade*: Black Consciousness in Kansas, 1892-97," *Journalism Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1986): 305-310; Cooper, Arnold. "'Protection to All, Discrimination to None': *The Parsons Weekly Blade*, 1892-1900." *Kansas History* 9 (Summer 1986): 58-71. For biographical information on Kansas journalists who were contemporaries of Bruce and Jones, such as John Lewis Waller, W. B. Townsend, and C. H. Taylor, see I. Garland Penn, *The Afro-American Press and Its Editors* (Springfield, MA: Willey & Co., 1891) [Reprint, Salem, NH: Ayer Company, 1964]: 187, 189-193; 253, 312-313; Woods, *A Black Odyssey*.

[15] Moten, "The Negro Press of Kansas"; Armistead Pride extensively quoted Moten in the section on the Kansas newspapers in his dissertation, "A Register and History of Negro Newspapers in the United States: 1827-1950," 90-94.

[16] Moten, "The Negro Press of Kansas," 102-03. Moten included an excerpt from the mission statement of the *National Baptist World* and identified S.W. Jones as the paper's editor.

[17] Marie Deacon, "Kansas as the Promised Land: The View of the Black Press, 1890-1900," master's thesis, University of Arkansas, 1973.

[18] Dorothy V. Smith, "The Black Press and the Search for Hope and Equality in Kansas, 1865-1985," in *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985*, ed. Henry Lewis Suggs (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996): 105-134.

[19] Teresa C. Klassen and Owen V. Johnson, "Sharpening of the *Blade*: Black Consciousness in Kansas, 1892-97," *Journalism Quarterly* 63, no. 2 (1986): 305-310; Cooper, Arnold. "'Protection to All, Discrimination to None': *The Parsons Weekly Blade*, 1892-1900." *Kansas History* 9 (Summer 1986): 58-71. Klassen and Johnson found that the activism promoted by the *Weekly Blade*, as well as other local black newspapers in the late-nineteenth century, may have laid the foundation for the black activist press that developed after World War I. Cooper examined the community- building role of the Parsons newspaper and found that by emphasizing racial solidarity, group economy, education and moral development, the *Weekly Blade* helped to promote self-determined black citizenry.

[20] In the 1890s, Leavenworth had a sizable African American population compared to other areas in the state. Statewide African Americans numbered nearly 50,000 but represented less than 4 percent of the population. Nearly 5,000 of the 20,000 citizens in the city were African Americans. By comparison, about 1,200 African Americans resided in Wichita, which had a population of nearly 24,000 in 1890. See Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 12; Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I -- Population (Washington, DC: Government, 1892), 2, 549.

[21] Nudie E. William, "Black Newspapers and the Exodusters of 1879," *Kansas History* 8, no. 4 (Winter 1988-1989): 217-225.

[22] *Colored Citizen*, Topeka, 11 January 1879.

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[23] Nell Irvin Painter, *The Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after the Reconstruction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972): 153.

[24] Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978): 39; Painter, 159.

[25] Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 191; Painter, *The Exodusters*, 159; Woods, *Black Odyssey*, 79.

[26] H. Craig Miner, *Wichita: The Magic City* (Wichita-Sedgwick County Historical Museum Association, 1988) 17, 47, 96.

[27] See Footnote 8.

[28] "Will Study Law," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 21 September 1889.

[29] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 28 September 1889.

[30] "Our Subscription List," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 4 April 1890.

[31] Actually, this was not Bruce's first time working on a newspaper. In his college years he was editor and one of the founders of the *University Courier* (*Topeka Capital*, 26, 1892).

[32] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 8 February 1890.

[33] Topeka *Call*, 10 July 1892; *Topeka Daily Capital*, 26 October 1892.

[34] "Auditor of State," *Topeka Daily Capitol*, 26 October 1892.

[35] "Auditor of State," *Topeka Daily Capitol*, 26 October 1892; Chuck Marsh, "First Black Graduate was Acclaimed Tutor," *University of Kansas Alumni Magazine* 83, no. 5 (February 1985): 11. The State University in Lawrence was later called the University of Kansas.

[36] See "Our University," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 4 July 1891. Bruce wasn't the first black student to attend the university. Four years earlier a young black woman had enrolled in the school, but she didn't earn a degree (Marsh, 11). Apparently, most of the first black students who attended the university did not graduate. Many of the black students who attended the university were wholly self-supporting. Marsh cites a 1909 article of *The Graduate Magazine*, the alumni magazine: "By far the majority of the colored students who have come to the University did not remain through the sophomore years." Even by 1891, only four black students had completed degrees, two at the collegiate level and two from the law department. As two of the four graduates, *Advocate* co-editors W. B. Townsend, a lawyer, and B. K. Bruce believed that the black high school graduates from Leavenworth were overlooking a golden opportunity to further their education. They urged young people to consider attending the university because they could not "afford to stop at the halfway stations, but must go to the top, and that by so doing they will be better equipped for the many varied duties of life" (*Leavenworth Advocate*, 4 July 1891).

[37] H.C. Bruce, *The New Man: Twenty-nine Years a Slave, Twenty-nine Years a Free Man* (York, PA: P. Anstadt & Sons, 1895; reprint, Mnemosyne Publishing Co., Inc., Miami Florida, 1969): 109; *Leavenworth Advocate*, 22 November 1890.

[38] Marsh, "First Black Graduate was Acclaimed Tutor," 11.

[39] Bruce remained at Sumner School until he retired in 1939, after working as principal there for 54 years.

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[40] "Auditor of State," *Topeka Daily Capital*, 26 October 1892; "B. K. Bruce, Prominent Local Educator, Dies in Baltimore," *Leavenworth Times*, 20 May 1952.

[41] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 17 August 1889.

[42] *Leavenworth Herald*, 17 February 1894.

[43] *Leavenworth Herald*, 23 June 1894.

[44] *Leavenworth Herald*, 18 September 1897.

[45] *The People's Friend*, 24 August 1894; *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[46] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[47] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[48] H. Craig Miner, *Wichita: The Magic City* (Wichita-Sedgwick County Historical Museum Association, 1988): 17, 96.

[49] Reprinted in *National Baptist World*, 7 September 1894.

[50] *Kansas Troops in the Volunteer Service of the United States in the Spanish and Philippine Wars, Mustered in Under the First and Second Calls of the President of the United State, May 9, 1890-October 28, 1899.* Reprinted from the Twelfth Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas (Topeka: W.Y. Morgan, State Printer, 1900): 235-237; *The Morning Eagle*, Wichita, 14 August 1960.

[51] *The Morning Eagle*, 14 August 1960; R. M. "Dick" Long, *Wichita Century: The Pictorial History of Wichita, Kansas, 1870-1970* (Wichita Historical Museum Association, Inc., 1969): 101.

[52] Twelfth Biennial Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Kansas, 235-237.

[53] *The People's Friend*, 10 August 1894; *The Morning Eagle*, 14 August 1960.

[54] *The People's Friend*, 17 August 1894.

[55] "Prominent People Get Married," Indianapolis *Freeman*, 21 February 1891.

[56] J. H. Covington, who owned his home at 501 N. Water, worked as a janitor. Before moving to Wichita, the Covingtons had lived in Mississippi. The Joneses continued to live with the Covingtons throughout the 1890s (Sedgwick County Census Records compiled by State Board of Agriculture in 1880, 1895, 1900).

[57] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[58] *The People's Friend*, 24 May 1894. This paper was edited by William Jeltz.

[59] *The People's Friend*, 10 August 1894.

[60] *The Kansas Headlight*, 24 August 1894.

[61] The last extant issue of the *National Baptist World* is dated 23 November 1994. On 30 March 1895, the *Parsons* (Kansas) *Weekly Blade* included a supplement of *The Baptist Globe* on page 3 of the paper. *Globe* editor P.D. Skinner stated: "The Baptist GLOBE is intended to supply the place of the National Baptist WORLD, and we hope it

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will meet the hearty approval of all of our old subscribers to the National Baptist WORLD and those of the [Baptist] Headlight. Those two denominational papers endeavored to preform [sic] their mission, while they were alive and now that they are no more, we shall endeavor, by the help of God and the support of the denomination, to make this paper a true exponent of the doctrines and principles of the Missionary Baptist churches."

[62] *National Reflector*, 15 August 1896; 10 April 1897; 24 July 1897; *The People's Friend*, July 13, 1894.

[63] *National Reflector*, 9 April 1898.

[64] Dann, *The Black Press*, 121.

[65] Deacon, "Kansas as the 'Promised Land': The View of the Black Press, 1890-1900," 24; William H. Chafe, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," *Journals of Southern History* 34 (August 1968):402-419.

[66] William Chafe, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," 402-419.

[67] *Leavenworth Herald*, 2 November 1895.

[68] *The People's Friend*, 31 May 1894.

[69] *Leavenworth Herald*, 29 December 1894.

[70] *Kansas Star*, Wichita, 2 June 1894.

[71] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 16 March 1889, *Leavenworth Herald*, 1 September 1894, *National Reflector*, 20 February 1897.

[72] "A CALL FOR A STATE CONVENTION OF LEADING COLORED MEN," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 19 July 1890; "The Candidacy of Hon. J. L. Waller," *Leavenworth Advocate*, 8 August 1890. Despite their efforts to promote the Waller nomination, delegates at the Republican state convention in Topeka chose a white farmer, C. M. Hovey, as candidate for state auditor. (Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 106).

[73] "We Blow," *Leavenworth Herald*, 29 December 1894.

[74] "Introductory," *Leavenworth Herald*, February 17, 1894.

[75] *Leavenworth Herald*, 2 June 1892.

[76] Chafe, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," 411.

[77] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[78] *National Baptist World*, 26 October 1894.

[79] *National Reflector*, 18 September 1897.

[80] *National Reflector*, 7 August 1897.

[81] *National Reflec*tor, 24 July 1897; 18 September 1897. Jones was acquainted personally with Waller. Earlier that year the former consul to Madagascar had come to Wichita to deliver a city-wide lecture. The event was organized and sponsored by the *National Reflector* editor. While in Wichita, Waller dined in the home of Jones and his wife, Mary (*National Reflector*, 10 April 1897).

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[82] *Leavenworth Herald*, 15 May 1897; *National Reflector*, 24 July 1897.

[83] Willard Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite of 1880-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990): 35.

[84] *Leavenworth Herald*, 15 May 1897.

[85] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 13 April 1889; The *Advocate* urged blacks to follow the example set by those involved in the loan and investment company and start enterprises that were owned and operated by black businessmen (4 May 1889).

[86] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 20 April 1889.

[87] Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996): 3-6.

[88] Gaines, *Uplifting the Race*, 21-22.

[89] Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 70.

[90] Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 69-71.

[91] Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 66; Indianapolis *Freeman*, 4 May 1889.

[92] Miner, *Wichita: The Magic City*, 97.

[93] Meier, *Negro Thought in America*, 12-13.

[94] Reprinted in *National Baptist World*, 20 September 1894.

[95] *National Reflector*, Wichita, 25 July 1896.

[96] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[97] "A Power," *Leavenworth Herald*, 8 December 1894.

[98] *Leavenworth Herald*, 17 February 1894.

[99] *Leavenworth Herald*, 8 December 1894.

[100] August Meier, "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," *Phylon* 23 (Fall 1962): 258-266.

[101] Meier, "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," 258.

[102] Meier, "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," 258.

[103] *Leavenworth Advocate*, 11 May 1889. N. C. Smith became business manager when Townsend took over as editor of the newspaper. Smith had decided to hire two young school boys, Wm. Harris and Edward Morris (*Leavenworth Advocate*, 23 March 1889). In a letter to the editor, P. H. Bray, step-son of John L. Waller and correspondent for the several black newspaeprs, praised the Advocate for employing these young black men as typesetters. Bray urged other black leaders and businessmen to follow the newspaper's example since many young men had difficulty finding employment in white-owned businesses (*Leavenworth Advocate*, 20 April 1889).

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[104] *Leavenworth Herald*, 28 August 1987.

[105] *National Reflector*, 6 March 1897; 3 April 1897; 5 June 1897; 3 July 1897.

[106] *National Baptist World*, 7 September 1894.

[107] *National Baptist World*, 7 September 1894; 5 October 1894, 19 October 1894.

[108] *National Baptist World*, 5 October 1894, *Leavenworth Herald*, 2 March 1895.

[109] *Leavenworth Herald*, 14 July 1894.

[110] *Leavenworth Herald*, 26 January 1895.

[111] Ida B. Wells-Barnett, "Mob Rule in New Orleans," (originally published in 1900) in *Selected Works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 320.

[112] *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918*, (New York: NAACP, 1919). Reprinted by Arno Press and *The New York Times*, 1969: 30. The NAACP recorded 155 lynching of Blacks in 1892. The record compiled by Wells-Barnett put the number of blacks murdered by mobs that year at 241 and 775 from 1894- 1898 (see in *Selected Works of Ida B. Wells-Barnett*, 320). In 1918 the NAACP documented more than 1,200 blacks who were lynched during the last two decades of the late-nineteenth century. The report is based on records kept by the *Chicago Tribune*, Tuskegee Institute, and records maintained by *The Crisis* and the NAACP after 1912. Each incident was investigated, and nearly 200 were not included in the report tabulations because not enough facts about the specific episodes were available.

[113] *Leavenworth Herald*, 28 April 1894.

[114] *National Reflector*, 26 June 1897.

[115] *National Reflector*, 26 June 1897.

[116] *National Reflector*, 26 June 1897.

[117] *National Reflector*, 29 May 1897; *American Citizen*, Kansas City, Kansas, 4 June 1897, in Woods, *A Black Odyssey*, 74.

[118] *National Reflector*, 29 May 1897.

[119] Among those who endorsed the *National Reflector*'s initiative were John L. Waller of Kansas City, W. B. Townsend of Leavenworth, Rev. W. L. Grant of Topeka, Dr. S. W. Wilson of Coffeyville, J. W. Green in Hutchinson, J. F. Ready of Ottawa; and J. B. O'Dair, Emporia (*National Reflector*, 26 June 1897).

[120] *Leavenworth Herald*, 26 June 1897.

[121] *National Reflector*, 17 July 17, 1897. Jones had not endorsed Bruce candidacy for register of the treasury (*National Reflector*, 24 July 1897). Jones reported that the *National Reflector* was "stricken from the exchange list of the Leavenworth Herald. It is a terrible shock, but we will endeavor to stand it" (*National Reflector*, 30 October 1897).

[122] *Leavenworth Herald*, 17 August 1895.

[123] *National Reflector*, 23 October 1897.

[124] *Leavenworth Herald*, 30 June 1894.

[125] *Leavenworth Herald*, 16 June 1894.

[126] *Leavenworth Herald*, 5 January 1895.

[127] *Leavenworth Herald*, 5 January 1895. After Wells had returned from her second English trip, Bruce had criticized her for "telling the race editors what to do." Such an approach characterized what he considered as the "egotistic, self-appointed, bossing principle which seems to underlie Ida B's makeup" (*Leavenworth Herald*, 1 September 1894).

[128] Reprinted in *Leavenworth Herald*, 22 June 1895.

[129] *Leavenworth Herald*, 27 July 27 1895.

[130] *Leavenworth Herald*, 26 January 1895.

[131] *Leavenworth Herald*, 26 January 1895.

[132] Following Wells's return from England, she went on the lecture circuit in the United States, speaking in cities and towns across the East and Pacific coasts as well as the Midwest. See Ida B. Wells-Barnett, *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*, ed. Alfreda M. Duster (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970): 218-238; *The People's Friend*, Wichita, 18 September 1894.

[133] *Leavenworth Herald*, 15 June 1895.

[134] *Leavenworth Herald*, 15 June 1895.

[135] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

[136] *National Baptist World*, 6 October 1894.

[137] *National Baptist World*, 12 October 1894.

[138] *National Baptist World*, 31 August 1894.

The Naked Truth:

Gender, Race, and Nudity in *Life*, 1937

Presented to the History Division
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication
National Convention
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Monday, June 07, 1999

The Naked Truth: Gender, Race, and Nudity in *Life*, 1937

Every week hundreds of human beings--some of them newsworthy--reveal their exhibitionist traits by showing off before a camera--sometimes with appalling results. SHOW-BOOK will save a half page or so in the back of the book for the silliest of these self-exposures.

Henry R. Luce, *A Prospectus for a New Magazine*[1]

Life will show us the Man-of-the-Week. . .his body clothed and, if possible, nude.

Henry R. Luce, *Life Prospectus*[2]

The visual is *essentially* pornographic, which is to say that it has its end in rapt, mindless fascination.

Fredric Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible*

American news photography reached a new level of popularity and credibility in the 1930s with the rise of documentary photography and large-format photographic magazines, especially *Life*. As journalism historian Michael Carlebach has noted, photojournalism came of age in this period, moving from tabloid sensationalism to serious coverage of news and social issues.[3] Previously, news photography was clearly subordinate to the printed word. Its practitioners almost always worked anonymously and got little respect from reporters and editors. With advances in photographic and printing technologies, however, the journalistic uses of photography expanded and its status improved. When *Life* began publication in 1936, it was the first magazine in which photographs played the starring role, supported by captions and short articles. *Life* also made stars out of several of its top photographers, especially Margaret Bourke-White and Alfred Eisenstaedt, pioneers of the photographic essay.

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[1] Luce's working title for the picture magazine that became *Life* was *Show-Book*. The prospectus was reprinted in Otha C. Spencer, "Twenty Years of Life: A Study of Time, Inc.'s Picture Magazine and Its Contributions to Photojournalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1958), 476.

[2] From *Life*'s second prospectus, quoted in Jackson Edwards, "One Every Minute," *Scribner's Magazine*, May 1938, p. 20.

[3] Michael L. Carlebach, *American Journalism Comes of Age* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

Despite *Life*'s reputation for quality coverage of news and social issues, it also offered plenty of sensationalism and controversy. A frequently-cited example of the frivolous side of *Life* is the 1937 feature "How to Undress for Your Husband," which contained a strip-tease in the guise of advice for married women. Journalism historians have used "How to Undress" to suggest that, despite its superb photographic essays, *Life* displayed a vulgarity that precluded its being taken completely seriously as journalism.[4] Similarly, photojournalism historians have cited "How to Undress" as an example of the medium's continuing problem with sensationalism.[5] In the broader context of cultural history, James Guimond analyzed the feature as an instance of *Life*'s careful "cheesecake protocol" that edited out overt displays of eroticism, while it allowed certain voyeuristic images of women that fit into its family magazine image.[6] According to *Life* insiders Robert T. Elson and Loudon Wainwright, "How to Undress" was an crude but successful effort to boost circulation.[7] The editor of *Life*'s 50th anniversary retrospective criticized the magazine's early editors, who "veered into vulgarity" by publishing the piece.[8] Given the wide range of scholars who have commented on "How to Undress," it is surprising to note that little research has been done on these types of images in 1930s photojournalism.[9]

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[4] Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, *Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 429; James Playsted Wood, *Magazines in the United States*, 3d edition (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1971), 215.

[5] Kenneth Kobre, *Photojournalism: The Professionals' Approach* (Boston: Focal Press, 1991), 338; Otha C. Spencer, "Twenty Years of Life: A Study of Time, Inc.'s Picture Magazine and Its Contributions to Photojournalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1958), 236-41.

[6] James Guimond, *American Photography and the American Dream* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 158.

[7] Robert T. Elson, *Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise*, vol. 1, 1923-1941 (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 305; Loudon Wainwright, *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), xvi-xvii.

The purpose of this paper is to explore nudity in the first year of *Life* to better understand: (1) the institutional and cultural context in which "How to Undress" emerged; (2) how this feature (and nudity more broadly) fit into photojournalism; and (3) what these images and responses to them suggest about ideologies of gender, race, and sexuality.

Much critical research on representations of gender in the media has focused on images of women in advertising and pornography.[10] Relatively few scholars, however, have analyzed representations of women in less overtly problematic, but equally well-circulated forms such as the general interest magazine. Fewer still have examined magazine images of women and men. What are the historical precedents of current images of gender in the media? How and when did photographic styles and conventions for representing women and men in mass media emerge? One way to begin addressing these questions is to look back at a significant moment in the development of visual culture in the mass media: the early years of *Life*. Although newspapers and magazines had been using photographs for decades, *Life* was the first publication that privileged photograph over text.

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[8] Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., ed., *LIFE: The First 50 Years, 1936-1986* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 15.

[9] Historical research has been published on cheesecake, pin-ups and similar material, but generally not from the perspective of journalism history. See, for instance, Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth Century U.S.," *Journal of Women's History* 8/3 (Fall 1996): 9-35; Robert B. Westbrook, "'I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James': American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly* 42/4 (December 1990): 587-614. For a broad view of nude photography from an art history perspective, see Jorge Lewinski, *The Naked and the Nude: A History of Nude Photography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1987).

[10] For critical studies of women in advertising, see Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), Erving Goffman, *Gender Advertisements* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), and Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements* (London: Marion Boyer, 1978). For critical perspectives on pornography, see Annette Kuhn, *The Power of the Image: Essays on Representation and Sexuality* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989). For historical perspectives on pornography, see Walter Kendrick, *The Secret Museum: Pornography in Modern Culture* (New York: Viking, 1987) and Linda Williams, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

Since the turn of the century, photographic images have been an integral part of mass communication, and their presence and quality has expanded steadily with technological advances in photographing and printing. While studies of media images of women has emphasized advertising and pornography, studies of documentary photography and photojournalism have, for the most part, failed to examine critically representations of women. The literature on photojournalism tends toward the practical or the descriptive, appealing to photojournalists in the field or to the general public. There are some excellent historical studies of documentary photography, most of which have focused on the work of a few outstanding photographers. These works have examined Civil War photographers Mathew Brady, social reform photographers Lewis Hine and Jacob Riis, and New Deal photographers such as Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans.[11]

A relatively new but expanding body of research analyzes photojournalism from both a theoretical and a historical perspective, incorporating critical methods from cultural studies and feminist theory. Some recent examples of this type of research have focused on photographs as cultural texts in *National Geographic* and *Life* during the postwar period.[12] Articles examining gender in photography include Kozol's study of Depression photography and Mei-ling Yang's study World War II propaganda and advertising.[13] Such research foregrounds issues of class, race, and gender, viewing documentary photography not as a reflection of reality, but as a culturally constructed historical artifact reflecting power relations and social conflicts.

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[11] See Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Image as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), Alexander Alland, *Jacob A. Riis: Photographer and Citizen* (New York: Aperture, 1993), and James Curtis, *Mind's Eye, Mind's Truth: FSA Photography Reconsidered* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press).

[12] Catherine Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading National Geographic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and Wendy Kozol, *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

Before discussing theories of photography, it will be helpful to trace briefly the historical development of photography as a component of mass communication. As a historical artifact, photographs reflect the social and cultural context in which they were produced. Also, the status of photojournalism within the profession and in public opinion has changed dramatically since it first emerged a hundred years ago. This paper will outline the major developments, both technical and social, in photojournalism and suggest how they relate to questions of interpretation. In addition to a historical grounding, another prerequisite for an interpretive model of photojournalism is a basic understanding of theories of visual communication, particularly those theories related to interpreting photography. These theories have emerged from a wide range of disciplines, including history, art history, and anthropology.[14] Some of these theoretical paradigms focus on photojournalistic images, others encompass art photography and painting. They all share a concern with exploring the political, social, and cultural meanings of visual images, and they all have important insights to contribute to the study of photojournalism. The literature review section that follows gives a broad overview of research on gender images, historical background on photojournalism, and a summary of theoretical perspectives on photography. The next section will propose a series of research questions, suggests some guidelines for interpreting photographs, and outlines a strategy for using these guidelines to analyze photographs from *Life*.

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[13] Wendy Kozol, "Madonnas of the Fields: Photography, Gender, and 1930s Farm Relief," *Genders* 2 (Summer 1988): 1-23 and Mei-ling Yang, "Selling Patriotism: The Representation of Women in Magazine Advertising in World War II," *American Journalism* 12 (Summer 1995): 304-320.

[14] For theories of photography from an art history perspective, see Griselda Pollack, "Feminism/Foucault--Surveillance/Sexuality," in *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations*, eds. Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994) and John Pultz, *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995). For a cultural studies approach to photography written by anthropologists, see Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*. For theoretical perspectives on photography, also from a cultural studies approach, see Fredric Jameson, *Signatures of the Visible* (New York: Routledge, 1990) and Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990). For an excellent collection of essays from a range of disciplines and perspectives, see Richard Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990).

Literature Review

Media Images of Gender: Theoretical Perspectives

The role of gender in photography has been a concern of two important recent works, *Reading National Geographic* by Lutz and Collins and "Feminism/Foucault-Surveillance/Sexuality" by Pollock. Lutz and Collins offer a fascinating interpretation, both quantitative and qualitative, of six hundred photographs published in *National Geographic* between 1950 and 1986. In coding and closely reading these photographs, the authors analyzed 22 separate characteristics, ranging from location to skin color to nudity. Among their findings, interesting patterns of gender representation emerged. For example, women were pictured more in certain contexts than in others. Lutz and Collins noted the popularity of images of mothers and children in the media, especially in the period after World War II:

> The idealization of the mother-child bond is seen in everything from the warm TV relationship of June Cleaver with Wally and the Beaver to the cover of a Life magazine issue of 1956 devoted to "The American Woman" showing a glowing portrait of a mother and daughter lovingly absorbed in each other; all of this is ultimately and dramatically reflected in the period's rapidly expanding birth rate.[15]

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[15] Lutz and Collins, 169.

Feminist art historian Griselda Pollock also examined visual images of women, using Michel Foucault's theories of sexuality and surveillance to theorize how visual representations construct social relations. According to Foucault, sexuality does not refer simply to sexual appetites or pleasures. Rather, it encompasses a wide range of social practices, regulations, and institutions, especially those that establish power relations, define gender roles, and reinforce heterosexuality and the family. Pollock expanded on this notion of sexuality by defining it as the social regimes that organize and subordinate women's sexual body to the institutions of the family, to class power, and to social regulation. She argued that documentary images are "bound up with the production and effects of sexuality," in the sense described above. Surveillance comes into play as a form of disciplinary regulation enacted on the bodies of certain people (Foucault focused on prisoners, Pollock on working-class women). According to Foucault, the meaning of being in representation has changed over time. While it used to be part of the rituals of power to be visually represented, "reserved for the divine, the heroic, the saintly, and those who rule," this changed in the nineteenth century with the advent of photography.[16] "Far from heralding a simple democracy of the image," according to Pollock, "the expansion of representation subjected large sections of the population to surveillance."[17]

A recent article by media historian Carolyn Kitch provided an important survey of the past twenty-five years of historical research on images of women in American media, identifying four main categories of scholarship that have emerged. Although Kitch's essay focused on images of women, her interpretation of theoretical perspectives provides a valuable framework for the proposed study. She identified four research categories: (1) the stereotypes approach, (2) the search for alternative images; (3) the examination of imagery as ideology; and (4) the "reading" of images as polysemic texts. Acknowledging that these categories often overlap and can be integrated in any given historical study, Kitch explores larger issues related to historical evidence and questions of the role of the audience in making meaning. For example, she points to two mains sites of tension between the four theoretical approaches identified above: (1) the relationship between image and reality; and (2) the role of the audience in determining the meaning of an image.

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[16] Pollock, 36.

[17] Pollock, 37.

> The first two approaches (stereotypes and alternative imagery) draw on several similar assumptions: that media stereotypes exist; that they are widely recognized by audiences, who see them as some kind of reference to a day-to-day "reality"; and that they provoke responses, whether compliance or defiance, from real people. The last two approaches (ideological and semiotic) rest on the opposite assumption: that media imagery is never a literal depiction of reality, but rather is part of a complex symbolic system that serves to advance particular ideas among particular people at particular times.[18]

In terms of the role of the audience, Kitch observes that the approaches diverge in their conceptualization of audience agency in meaning-making.

> Underlying the scholarship in categories one (stereotypes) and three (ideological) is the notion that, through mass media imagery, meaning is imposed on audiences. Conversely, some of the work done in category two (alternative images) and all of the work done in category four (semiotic analyses) suggest that audiences decide the meaning of imagery, either by recognizing and responding to atypical imagery or through an even more active and personal reading of media.[19]

The present study attempts to combine the ideological approach and the semiotic approach in order to study nude images in the early years of photojournalism. Thus, this study treats media images not as simple reflections of reality, but as complex symbolic systems that construct and are constructed by prevailing power relations, including relations based on gender, race, and class.

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[18] Carolyn Kitch, "Changing Theoretical Perspectives on Women's Media Images: The Emergence of Patterns in a New Area of Historical Scholarship," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 (Autumn 1997): 485.

[19] Ibid.

Photojournalism: Historical Background

Although photography was invented in 1839, because of technological obstacles it did not become a major part of newspapers and magazines until the turn of the century. By the 1890s, pictures were a staple of daily and weekly publications, although they were viewed with outright contempt by some highbrow journalists, who saw pictures as catering to the illiterate and the ill-bred.[20] Nevertheless, pictures from photographic originals and from artist's renderings were growing in popularity, appearing by the thousands in newspapers and magazines. Two events in the early 1900s, the Spanish-American War and the San Francisco Earthquake of 1906 provide lasting evidence of the value of news photography in that period. Wars have been a popular subject for photojournalists since Mathew Brady and his team of photographers took to the battlefields of the Civil War. In the years between the Civil War and World War I, photojournalists turned their cameras to the plight of poverty in urban America. Social reform photographers such as Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine provided stark, sometimes shocking, evidence of life in the slums and sweatshops. This tradition continued through the Great Depression years, when photographers working for the Farm Security Administration produced thousands of images of life among the poor, some of which are now icons of that chapter in American history.

Technological advances in photographic and printing processes fed the growth of photojournalism, leading to new kinds of publications specifically designed to emphasize visual images. In 1919 the *New York Illustrated Daily News* began publication as the first successful American tabloid. It quickly became the most widely read paper in New York.[21] The tabloids represented (as they still do) an exploitative brand of journalism and their photographers specialized in violent crime and other sensational subjects. After the advent of flashbulbs and 35-millimeter cameras in the twenties, the pictorial magazine was born. *Time* began publication in 1923, *Newsweek* in 1933, *Life* in 1936, and *Look* in 1937. These magazines helped to elevate the status of photojournalism and the large format titles in particular (*Life* and *Look*) "captivated the American public in the years before television."[22]

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[20] Carlebach, *American Journalism Comes of Age*), 12.

Life Magazine

Life began publication in November 1936 as the latest publishing innovation of Henry Luce, who had already built a reputation as the founder of *Time* and *Fortune*. Luce, born in China to American missionaries, was educated at Yale and pursued his journalistic career with a religious zeal. He championed the American Dream, in particular free enterprise and democracy, and he did not approve of the New Deal and the creation of the welfare state. In later years he became staunchly anti-Communist. *Life* can be seen as a logical extension of Luce's two earlier magazines, both in terms of offering the public a new media product and in terms of continuing some of the stylistic elements of the earlier magazines.

Time, which began publication in 1923, was a news magazine that offered something its competitors did not: a stress on personalities and an omniscient style of reporting. The stress on the news maker set *Time* apart from such highbrow competitors as the *New Republic*, which treated the news as a web of issues. *Time*'s main competitor, the bland but popular *Literary Digest* carefully summarized news stories, giving different sides of the issue but never taking a position. *Time*, however, not only summarized the news, but offered opinionated analysis. According to journalism professor and Luce biographer James L. Baughman, Time's omniscient pose led it to draw conclusions in ways that other magazines did not dare.

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[21] Carlebach, 146.

[22] Carlebach, 192.

> Time stories were not only summaries of weekly events, shaped around personalities, but shared an all-knowing air. The inclusion of the irrelevant, the physical features of a player or setting, partly achieved this effect. So did the vigorous editorial consistency, which made the magazine appear to be the product of a single intelligence.[23]

Like *Time, Life* also focused on personalities and its captions and text often expressed an all-knowing attitude. *Fortune*, founded in 1930, was a dollar-per-copy magazine dedicated to reporting and promoting free enterprise. It was generously illustrated with drawings, paintings, and photographs. *Life* expanded on *Fortune*'s use of photographs, but instead of appealing to the corporate executive subscriber, *Life* appealed to a mass audience that could afford to pay ten cents a copy.

For a year before the first issue of *Life* appeared, Luce worked on a prospectus for his new picture magazine. The final version from 1936 includes changes suggested by poet and playwright Archibald MacLeish, who was also a writer for *Fortune*.

> To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things--machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work--his paintings, towers and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women that men love and many children; to see and to take

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[23] James L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 46.

> pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed;
>
> Thus to see, and to be shown, is now the will and new expectancy of half mankind.
>
> To see, and to show, is the mission now undertaken by a new kind of publication, *THE SHOW-BOOK OF THE WORLD*, hereinafter described.[24]

This prospectus reveals extreme confidence in the power of vision, as well as the underlying gender ideology of Luce, presumably shared by others on the *Life* staff. Wendy Kozol notes the assumptions and beliefs embedded in Luce's prospectus:

> This statement reveals a belief, and also a conceit, that the camera, and therefore *Life*, has the power to reveal the world. Luce speaks of the expectancy of half of mankind to see, but, we must ask, which half is shown and which half does the looking? For instance, the reference to gender roles implies that women exist solely as the object of men's gaze. . . . If we interrogate this notion of seeing, then we can examine how cultural assumptions about the camera affect *Life*'s photographic representations. "Seeing becomes not a mirror but a way of framing differences and forming boundaries to define normative society.[25]

Elsewhere, Luce described the purpose of his new magazine in less grandiose terms. For example, in a pitch to advertisers, Luce predicted that his picture magazine would have at least ten "lookers-through" per copy. That is, in addition to the subscriber or newsstand purchaser, ten additional people (family, friends) would look through each copy. In a suggestive statement about the kind of magazine he envisioned, Luce announced that it would try to be "the damnedest best non-pornographic look-though magazine in the United States."[26]

Life was designed for a middlebrow mass audience. As Luce put it, "we do not intend to appeal to the mob but we do hope the magazine will appeal to a million or more people who are not all of them highbrow."[27] In this regard, *Life* was a bigger success than anyone could have predicted. Advertising contracts were sold on the basis of a projected circulation of 250,000. With many advertisers locked into one-year contracts based on that projection, the magazine surprised everyone by reaching a circulation of 533,000 after four weeks. By January 1937 the figure was up to 760,000 and by December 1937, 1.7 million. The magazine lost $3 million a year for the first two years, but started making money in 1939 when circulation neared 2.4 million.

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[24] Loudon Wainwright, *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 33.

[25] Kozol, *Life's America*, 8.

[26] Wainwright, 29. The "non-pornographic" adjective was used to distinguish *Life* from *Esquire*, a popular look-through men's magazine that featured illustrations of women (some in bathing suits, some nude) by Alberto Vargas. Luce referred to the "Vargas girls" as "tinted fornications," although he and his editors were not averse to publishing photographs of naked or half-clothed women in *Life*.

Not everyone liked the popular new picture magazine. Predictably, the more established, highbrow magazines greeted its arrival with undisguised derision. For example, the *New Republic* complained about *Life* and *Look* in March 1937, "hardly any mental effort is required to look at a picture and to spell out a few lines of accompanying caption, written in primer English. The attractiveness of such periodicals is enhanced if the pictures are themselves sensational, faintly salacious, or gruesome."[28] A few magazines commented satirically on *Life*'s nudity. In 1940, for instance, *The New Yorker* published the following observation:

> For more than three years we have been watching a very bothersome and heroic struggle in the publishing world--*Life* magazine trying to figure out a way to print a picture of a living, breathing woman with absolutely no clothes on. The especial problem of *Life*, of course, is that everything in it has to have the air of a respectable, high-minded commentary on America. *Life*, that is, can't publish a picture of a woman undressed over the caption "Woman Undressed." It has to Say Something. We are glad to be able to tell you that in their issue of February 12th, after years of frustration and seventeen million angle shots that almost got there but not quite, the editors have finally seen the answer. Like all truly great

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[27] Wainwright, 37-38.

[28] *New Republic*, 24 March 1937, p. 197. *Look*, a picture magazine founded in 1937 by John and Gardner Cowles, lacked Life's high production values (*Look* was produced with low-cost paper on rotogravure presses) and never matched its popularity.

> things, it was simple. They merely photographed a life class at the Yale Art School. This had Yale, it had Art, it had Class, it had America; it had everything, including no clothes on.[29]

In 1943, *Harper's Magazine* noted that *Life* "employs cheese-cake with such liberality that at times the venders of the raw product have been heard to exclaim, '*Life* gets away with murder'; but it manages somehow always to make it respectable--by solemnly analyzing the brassiere industry, for example."[30]

Research Questions and Methodology

1. What articles published in 1937 included nudity or partial nudity?
2. Did certain types of articles feature men or women more prominently?
3. What information was given in captions and accompanying articles? Did this information reinforce or contradict information in the photograph?
4. How did readers and commentators respond to these images?

All issues of *Life* published in 1937 (52 issues) were examined for editorial photographs of nude women and men (advertisements and photographs of children were excluded). The study focused on one year (1937) because of the following research objectives: (1) to limit the number of photographs and allow for qualitative analysis; (2) to examine photographs from the early period of the magazine to document how *Life* experimented with photo-essays and set the standards that would lead to the *Life* look of the forties and fifties; and (3) to locate the controversial "How a Wife Should Undress" in the larger context of similar images published during that same year.

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[29] "The Talk of the Town," *The New Yorker*, 2 March 1940, p. 9.

[30] John R. Whiting and George R. Clark, "The Picture Magazines," *Harper's Magazine*, July 1943, p. 164.

This study involved four distinct steps: (1) defining the term nude and identifying nudity in *Life*; (2) categorizing nude photographs by article type, context, gender, and degree of nudity; (3) qualitative analysis of selected photographs; and (4) interpretation of nudity in the first year of *Life* based on the qualitative analysis of photographs, reader response, and cultural, historical, and ideological context.

Nudity in Early *Life*

Life experienced in its first few years of publication a period of inconsistency and experimentation. Indeed, according to magazine insiders it took two to three years for the staff to "establish a Life 'look' in story selection and photographic display."[31] As the first magazine of its kind in the United States, the degree of inconsistency and experimentation was probably higher than usual for a new publication. *Life* defined itself as it grew, as *Time* had done earlier. This section focuses on the images of nudity that emerged during *Life*'s early period of experimentation. Although these images are not representative of *Life* as a whole, they do reveal something about how the *Life* "look" and style developed. Early representations of nudity in *Life* may also provide insights into the institutions and ideologies that produced them: not only the magazines editors and photographers, but also the broader ideologies of gender and sexuality. Finally, these images may help us to understand distinctions between appropriate (non-pornographic) display of bodies in a mass circulation magazine and inappropriate (pornographic) display, a crucial distinction given the fact that pornography remains a vexing category to define.

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[31] Baughman, 95.

For the purposes of this study, nudity was defined as the absence of clothing on adults. The study included full nudity as well as the following instances of partial nudity: bare tops; bare bottoms; bodies covered with non-clothing (i.e., lettuce, mud, wax); and nude bodies obscured by other people/objects in the photograph. In part because of the "How to Undress" article, this study also included images of adults in underwear. It excluded, however, the following types of images: nudity in painting and sculpture; nudity in advertisements; and child nudity. It also excluded images of women in bathing suits.[32] Based on these criteria, a total of 98 nude photographs were identified in *Life*'s 1937 issues.

An analysis of these 98 photographs found that over half (53) were in feature articles, covering a wide range of subjects from movies to beauty to recreation. Included among feature articles were regular departments (for instance, "Speaking of Pictures" and "Life Goes to a Party") as well as special features (such as "How to Undress" and "Swimming"). About one-third of the nude photographs (33) were part of news articles and the remaining 12 photographs were part of sports articles. As shown in Table 1, white women were the largest group in feature photographs, while white men were the leading group in news photographs. Minority women were underrepresented in feature photographs. White women were scarcely present in news photographs, and absent in sports.

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[32] The decision to include men in swimsuits (while excluding women in swimsuits) was somewhat problematic. It was based on the definition of nudity as including bare chests. In the thirties, men's swimsuits often covered the chest, and photographs of such suits are not included here. It is worth noting, however, that the inclusion of men in topless swimsuits does tend to skew the relative numbers of men and women in nude photographs.

Table 1: Type of Article, Gender, and Race
(Total number of photographs: 98)

	Feature (n=53)	News (n=33)	Sports (n=12)
White female	38%	3%	-
Minority female	2%	9%	8%
White male	22%	55%	75%
Minority male	9%	33%	17%

Table 2: Degree of Nudity, Gender, and Race
(Total number of Photographs: 98)

	Fully Nude *(n=22)*	Topless *(n=68)*	Underwear *(n=8)*
White female	50%	6%	75%
Minority female	5%	7%	12.5%
White male	27%	62%	12.5%
Minority male	18%	25%	-

Another way to begin analyzing the photographs is by the degree of nudity. As Table 2 indicates, white women were dominant in both the fully nude and the underwear categories. White men accounted for 62 percent of the topless photographs. Minority men accounted for one-fourth of the topless images, but minority women were poorly represented in all categories.

The following section provides an overview of nudity in each of the main types of articles (feature, news, and sports), followed by a qualitative analysis of at least one of each type of article. For the qualitative analysis, the following components of each photograph will be examined:[33]

- The historical and social context in which the photograph was taken.
- The formal elements: color, composition, vantage point, angle.
- The narrative structure (if any) within the photograph.
- Specific items in photo and caption that relate directly to political, social, or cultural ideas and phenomenon outside the picture.
- The position of the photograph in a cultural hierarchy that includes art, other media, and consumer goods.

Nudity in Features

Life's nude photographs turned up in a variety of feature articles, on subjects ranging from college life to automobile manufacturing. They often surfaced in "Speaking of Pictures," the magazine's lead feature that showcased entertaining, amusing, or unusual photographs. "Speaking of Pictures" included nude photographs in articles about suppressed publicity pictures, chorus girls, and the Studebaker automobile company.[34] Other departments that featured nudes were "Released for Publication" (publicity photographs), "Pictures to the Editor" (amateur photographs), and "Life Goes to a Party" (candid photographs). These pictures ran the gamut from a nude woman draped with a cellophane shower curtain to a woman "caught undressing" by a "candid photographer" to a half-naked male college student at a picnic.[35] Nude photographs in these articles were generally not central to the narrative content of the story, but seemed to be included as interesting novelties. Minority women were quite rare in these features, but one example with a black woman is noteworthy. A feature about watermelons (also the cover story) included a photograph of a nursing mother, with one breast and nipple clearly visible (Figure 1, page 31). The caption stated: "Nothing makes a Negro's mouth water like a luscious-fresh-picked melon. Any colored 'mammy' can hold a huge slice in one hand while holding her offspring in the other."[36]

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[33] This method of analysis was adapted from Lutz and Collins, *Reading National Geographic*.

[34] "Speaking of Pictures. . .These Were Suppressed," *Life* 1 April 1937, p. 5; "Speaking of Pictures. . .This is a Candid Free-For-All," *Life* 15 March 1937, p. 7; "Speaking of Pictures. . .These are Studebakers by Studebaker," 8 March 1937, p. 4.

Nudity figured prominently in several special feature articles, including articles about baths, corsets, posture, and undressing. One of these articles contained 20 photos of women (most clad in bra and panties) demonstrating correct and incorrect posture.[37] By way of explanation for the partial nudity, the text stated that "Because Comstockery prevented American publishers from issuing books containing illustrations of unclothed bodies. . . [the author of the featured book] long published her books exclusively abroad. Mensendieck pupils are taught stark naked between two mirrors, without even the abbreviated costume shown in these pictures."[38]

The voyeurism hinted at in some of the features discussed above was more explicit in

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[35] "Released for Publication," *Life* 11 January 1937, p. 63; "Pictures to the Editor," *Life* 17 May 1937, p. 90; "Life Goes to a Party," *Life* 7 June 1937, p. 84.

[36] "All Southerners Like Watermelon," *Life*, 9 August 1937, p. 52.

[37] "Your Posture, Right or Wrong, Is Up to You," *Life* 12 April 1937, p. 52.

[38] Ibid.

"How to Undress," an ostensibly educational photo-essay that illustrated how a woman should and should not undress in front of her husband (Figure 2, page 32). The photographs offered a narrative of undressing, beginning with how to slip gracefully out of a dress and ending with how to slip into a nightgown. Contrasted with the "how to" photographs were a series of undressing "nevers." The photographs offered a full view of the women undressing in a bedroom, in front of a window (with the window apparently open in one of the shots). Although the women did not look away from the camera, they did not look directly at the camera. In effect, they seemed to have been caught unawares in the everyday act of undressing. This style of representation, added to the open windows (a detail which gained the notice of at least one *Life* reader, as noted below in a discussion of letters to the editor) gave the photographs a clearly voyeuristic quality.

In apparent seriousness, the captions to this photo-essay suggested that Allen Gilbert (head of the Gilbert School of Undressing and a man "who puts on shows for . . . topnotch burlesque houses") was qualified to advise married couples. Gilbert suggested that women's sloppy bedroom habits led to divorce and said "I am dedicating my school to the sanctity of the American home."[39] Not only did his feature reveal the female body in a leering fashion, but it also framed this display as a service to the American family.

"How to Undress" apparently provoked a strong reaction from *Life* readers. The March 8 "Letters to the Editor" department was devoted to this topic, and it published 14 letters. Eight readers criticized the story, some of them calling it "indecent," "vulgar nonsense," and in "very poor taste." A general secretary of a YMCA informed the editors that the offending issue had been removed from that organization's reading room. He lamented that "Men, young and old, have enough of a problem on their hands to keep their minds clean. Suggestive pictures will certainly not make their struggle for moral mastery any easier."[40]

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[39] "How to Undress For Your Husband," *Life*, 15 February 1937, p. 42.

Most of the letters appear to have been written by men (most used first initials rather than names), but two were signed by women. One of them asked "Cannot LIFE manage to prepare its weekly dish of pictorial news and comment without dredging up such slimy fish as the "School for Undressing?" Another expressed doubt about the soundness of the magazine's advice for married couples: "Any wife who tries to hold and intrigue her husband--after the first couple of weeks of marriage--by amateurish strip-tease capers will wake up some day and find herself grass-widowed by her husband's secretary or the nurse-maid."[41]

One reader offered a mild critique of the photographers and editors for failing to draw the shades when the "professors" undressed. Only one of the published letters praised the piece: "Several of us here were enthused beyond measure at Mr. Gilbert's new venture in education. I shall guard the number carefully, as I feel sure that once its value is realized, copies will be almost beyond price."[42]

"How to Undress for Your Husband" is often discussed in histories of *Life*, and even a celebratory retrospective of the magazine's first 50 years criticized it as a conspicuous indiscretion. "The editors veered into vulgarity," according to this retrospective, "by publishing a striptease under the guise of showing how a wife should undress in front of her husband."[43]

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[40] "Letters to the Editor," *Life*, 8 March 1937, p. 68.

[41] "Letters to the Editor," *Life*, 8 March 1937, p. 68.

[42] "Letters to the Editor," *Life*, 8 March 1937, p. 68.

[43] Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., ed., *LIFE: The First 50 Years, 1936-1986* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1986), 15.

Wainwright, an otherwise devoted *Life* fan, calls the feature the work of "creative, loutish or even desperate people" and suggests that it was a joke: "Written with mock-serious captions, it was a deadpan demonstration of the right and wrong ways a wife could take off her clothes; it was also a shameless exercise in editorial leering. Naturally it attracted a lot of indignant attention . . ."[44] Another commentator suggests that the article was part of a deliberate effort to boost circulation. "It may have been an in-house joke, but the editors had concluded that cheesecake helped circulation and kept serving."[45]

Ostensibly in response to reader demand, *Life* published a feature called "How a Man Undresses" (Figure 3, p. 33), which was less a strip-tease than a vulgar joke.[46] The editors assigned the story to a female photographer, (a man had photographed "How a Wife Undresses") stating that "the score of the sexes is kept even." The headlines, however, suggest the gender distinctions drawn in the photographs and the articles: she was a "wife" and he was simply a "man." Moreover, this feature lacked the prescriptive tone of its predecessor, employing instead crude humor and an overweight "comedy character."

Nudity in Sports and the News

In contrast to feature photographs, *Life* sports photographs contained more nude images of men than women. A common nude image in sports articles showed athletes in the shower.[47]

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[44] Wainwright, xvi-xvii.

[45] Baughman, 99.

[46] "How a Man Undresses," *Life*, 15 March 1937, p. 68.

[47] "From Shower to Rose Bowl," *Life*, 4 January 1937, p. 15; "The Gashouse Gang Warms Up for the Baseball Season," *Life*, 5 April 1937, p. 29; "Champion and Challenger Train for Chicago Battle," *Life*, 21 June 1937, p. 20; "Mr. Riddle's War Admiral," *Life*, 17 May 1937, p. 20.

Other photographs featured half-naked athletes wrestling, cavorting with teammates, or posing for the camera.[48] One of the more prominent sports photographs was a full-page shot of four young men huddled together in a shower, obviously having a good time.[49] Another noteworthy example of male nudity in sports coverage was a half-page photograph of three winners in a contest for "The Most Beautiful Athlete in Europe"[50] (Figure 4, page 34). Not only were their briefs more revealing than most found on men in *Life*, but their bodies had been rubbed with oil "to bring out subtle excellences in muscling," and one of the men used ochre of iodine solution to "achieve a red Indian skin."[51] This photograph was the subject of two letters to the editor, one from Mashe Goldberg, who stated "It is much more interesting to see male bodily perfection than all these gooy (*sic*) females you see all the time."[52] Anna Peloquin wrote to note the absence of Nordic Europeans among the contest winners. She also objected to the American double standard on male and female beauty:

> We girls feel there should be more discussion of men's looks in the United States than there is. It would make the men more conscious of keeping themselves fit and in good figure. No matter what other faults they may overlook, most men nowadays expect their girlfriends to be well-proportioned. Yet they seem to think that the appearance of their own bodies is very unimportant and can be sufficiently improved by clothes.[53]

News articles employed nude photographs for a variety of purposes, from spicing up a routine story to illustrating the horrors of war and disaster. An example of nudity in the human interest story is the photograph of a 70-year-old senator enjoying "a brisk cold shower" (from the waist up) accompanied an article about his physical fitness.[54] Among *Life*'s more shocking news photographs were those that combined nudity and violence. One such image provided a full front view (with the genitals blocked out) of a survivor of the Hindenburg crash, "stark naked . . .clothes and hair burned away. . .skin hanging in shreds."[55]

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[48] "Cruel Crowds Demand Mat Torture; Rough Wrestling Kills 10 in 1936," *Life*, 25 January 1937, p. 61; "The Gashouse Gang Warms Up for the Baseball Season," *Life*, 5 April 1937, p. 28; "Paris and Hollywood Pick Men for Beauty," *Life*, 11 October 1937, p. 107.

[49] "From Shower to Rose Bowl," *Life*, 4 January 1937, p. 15.

[50] "Paris and Hollywood Pick Men for Beauty," *Life*, 11 October 1937, p. 107.

[51] Ibid.

[52] "Letters to the Editor," *Life*, 1 November 1937, p. 6.

[53] "Letters to the Editor," *Life*, 29 November 1937, p. 7.

Nudity in domestic news coverage was generally confined to men, as Table 1 indicates. This coverage often showed bare-chested working-class men in steel mills or on board ship (some working, others striking).[56] Other photographs showed a seaman in the shower and bare-chested sailors on leave.[57] Two striking examples of male nudity in the news were full-page photographs of steel workers, with the emphasis on their muscular chests and arms[58] (Figure 5, page 35). Although most men in domestic news articles were white, a lynched black man appeared in one photograph, shirtless and chained to a tree.[59]

Minority men and women were pictured in *Life*'s international news department ("The Camera Overseas"), which included nudity in articles about Hawaii, China, Liberia, Italy, British

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[54] "Rhode Island Senator Fit at 70," *Life*, 5 April 1937, p. 45.

[55] "Lakehurst Sees Horror on Ground as Well as in Air," *Life*, 17 May 1937, p. 27.

[56] "Weir's Weirton," *Life*, 13 September 1937, p. 36; "The Man with the Hoe Takes up a Gun," *Life*, 28 June 1937; "Strike in Deck Chairs," *Life*, 26 April 1937, p. 25; "Striking Seaman Sits Down in River," *Life*, 22 November 1937, p. 72.

[57] "A Shipline Replies to Striking Seamen," *Life*, 1 February 1937, p. 23; "Sailors on Shore Leave at Long Beach," *Life*, 19 April 1937, p. 20.

[58] "Weir's Weirton," *Life*, 13 September 1937, p. 36; "The Man with the Hoe Takes up a Gun," *Life*, 28 June 1937.

[59] "One Lynching Spurs Congress to Stop Others," *Life*, 26 April 1937, p. 26.

West Africa, Japan, and South Africa.[60] Men were more prevalent than women in these photographs, and both often appeared bare-chested. Images of minority men and women rarely reviewed full-page coverage, although a photographic essay was devoted to the Japanese people. This feature included a photograph of Japanese women bathing (Figure 6, page 36), along with a caption discussing nudity and making gross generalizations about Japanese women's bodies:

> Respectable women in Japan have no objection to having their pictures taken in the bath where they spend a good part of their lives. Japanese women generally have thick, short legs, broad bodies, strong, graceful necks and flat chests. They are capable of heavy physical work. . . . Japan's bathing habits are, to Westerners, probably the most shocking part of Japanese life. But Japanese are shocked by such Western pruriency.[61]

Conclusion

A content analysis of nude photographs published in *Life* during 1937 showed that white women were more prevalent than men in certain types of articles (features) and were more often shown fully nude. It also indicated that men (both white and minority) figured more prominently in news articles and were more often shown bare-chested. Qualitative analysis of selected photographs further suggested that images of nude women were often accompanied by articles that prescribed certain standards of female appearance and behavior, whether explicitly (as in "Your Posture" or "How to Undress") or implicitly (as in an article stating that women "would rather look well than swim well").[62] Images of nude males, however, were used more often in news and sports articles, where their partially clothed appearance seemed motivated by circumstances (whether of work or leisure). Minority men and women appeared relatively infrequently, and when they did, they were sometimes the object of racist stereotypes.

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[60] "Hawaiians Are Relaxed," *Life*, 26 April 1937, p. 46; "The Chinese Outfight the Japanese as Shanghai Blazes," *Life*, 13 September 1937, p. 24; "Shanghai's South Station," *Life*, 4 October 1937, p. 103; "The Yellow Race Looks at Its Dead in War," *Life*, 1 November 1937, p. 100; "Liberia Celebrates 90 Years of Independence," *Life*, 13 September 1937, p. 89; "Mussolini Maneuvers His Cabinet in the Mediterranean," *Life*, 13 September 1937, p. 92; "Pygmy Girls Dance in British West Africa," *Life*, 18 October 1937, p. 74; "President Roosevelt Hints at a Japanese Boycott, Which Means Silk," *Life*, 18 October 1937, p. 103; "The Pigmies of South Africa Protest to Capetown," *Life*, 14 June 1937, p. 73.

[61] "The World's Most Conventional People," *Life*, 30 August 1937, p. 43.

Although nudity in the media is most often discussed in the context of such genres as the overtly sexual "adult" magazine and film, this study suggests that nudity also played an important role in the rise of such mainstream genres as the family-oriented picture magazine. Nudity in *Life* and similar publications was not an aberration, but a central feature of their successful formula for attracting readers. Moreover, *Life*'s nudity was not merely frivolous, as some commentators have suggested. Instead, it often carried serious messages about dominant ideologies of gender and race.

While the images of nudity, gender, and race that appeared in the early years of *Life* reflected the standards of gender that prevailed in 1930s America, these images also helped to shape changing ideologies. The discussion and debate surrounding some of these photographs (particularly the "How to Undress" pictures) foreshadowed current controversies over sexual representations and pornography. This study raises several questions that might be worth further research, such as changing patterns of nudity in subsequent years of *Life* (particularly during World War II or the sixties), nudity in other photographic magazines such as *Look*, and the relationship between editorial and advertising nudity.[63]

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[62] "Girl Bathers Dress Well," *Life*, 28 June 1937, p. 38.

[63] For instance, Simoniz car wax ran a series of ads in *Life* during the summer of 1937 with the slogan "Your car's no nudist," featuring nude or nearly-nude women. Subsequent Simoniz ads in the pre-World War II period were markedly more modest. It would be interesting to see whether these ads appeared in other magazines, and how readers responded to them.

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"How a Man Undresses," 15 March, p. 68.

"Your Posture," 12 April, p. 52.

"The Man with the Hoe Takes Up a Gun," 28 June, p. 28.

"Swimming," 28 June, p. 35, 39.

"All Southerners Like Watermelon," 9 August, p. 52.

"The World's Most Conventional People," 30 August, p. 43.

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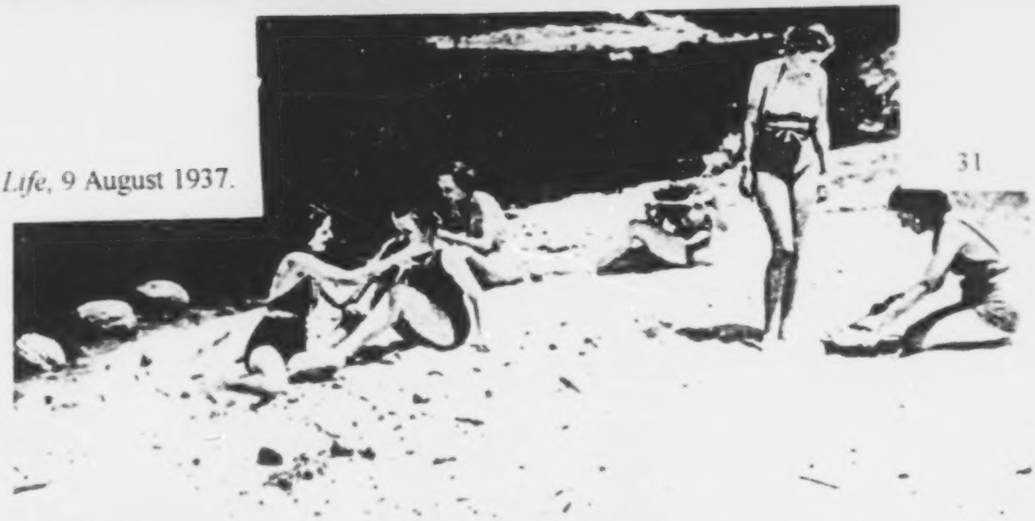
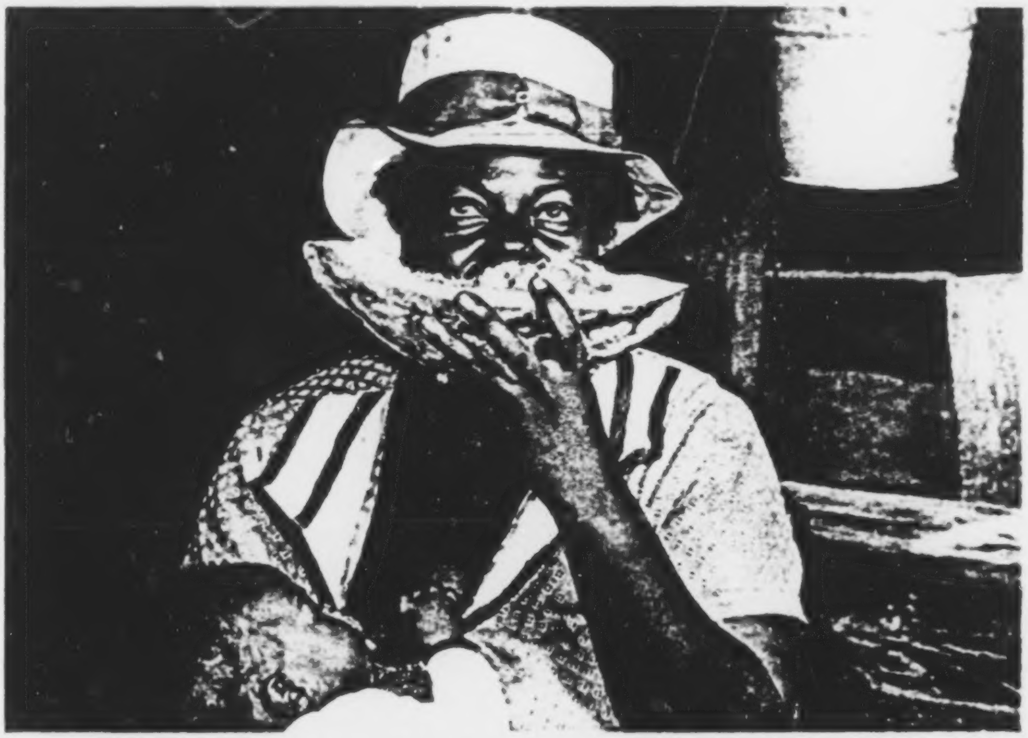
Figure 1: *Life*, 9 August 1937.



A watermelon picnic is considered the height of fun by Georgia girls, who like to cool their melons in a creek. The girl seated at right is going to get sand in hers.



Nothing makes a Negro's mouth water like a luscious, fresh-picked melon. Any colored "mammy" can hold a huge slice in one hand while holding her offspring in the other. Since the watermelon is 92% water, tremendous quantities can be eaten. What melons the Negroes do not consume will find favor with the pigs (*below*).

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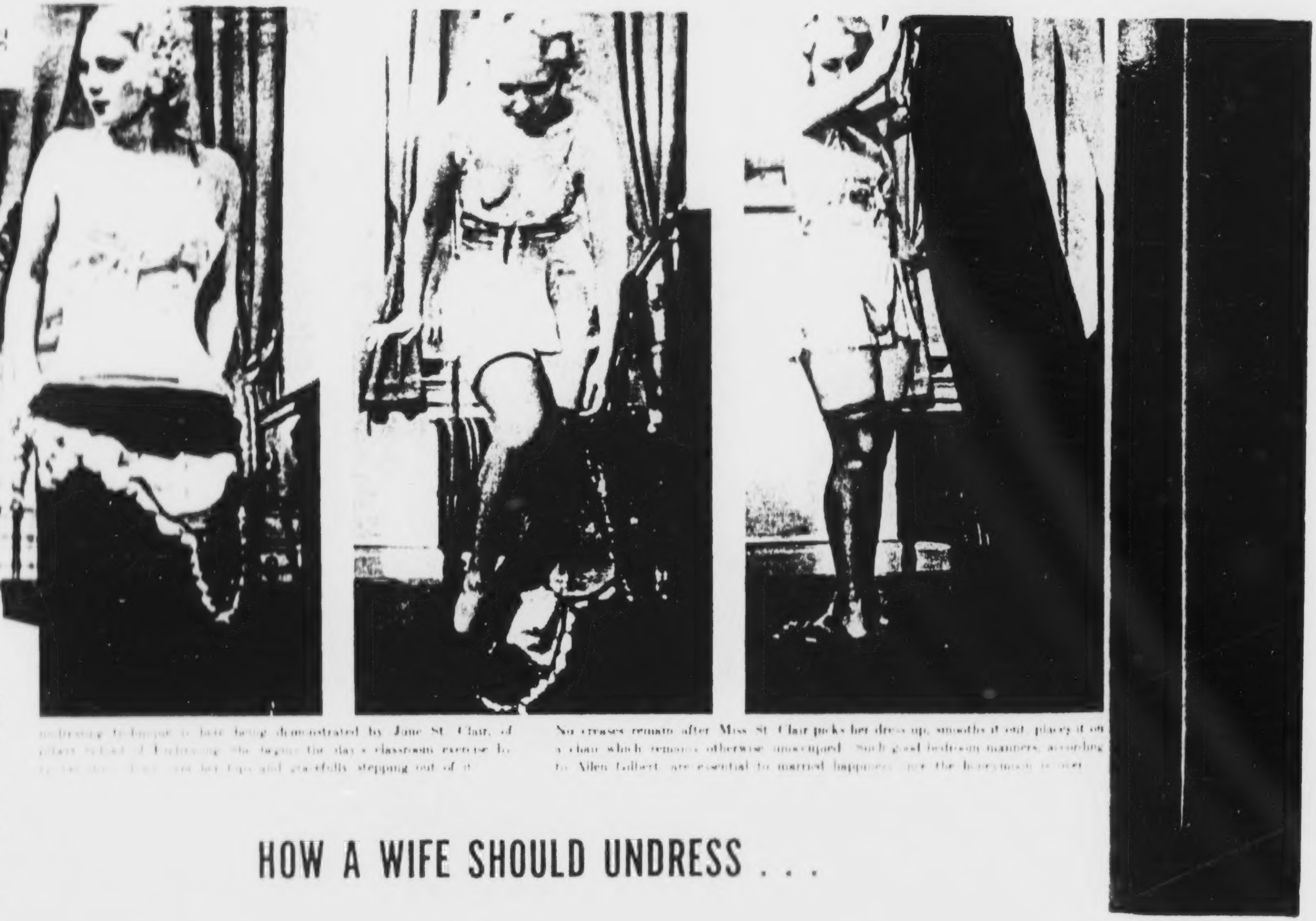

32

[illegible] undressing technique is here being demonstrated by Jane St. Clair, of [illegible] School of Undressing. She begins the day's classroom exercise by [illegible] her [illegible] her hips and gracefully stepping out of it.

No creases remain after Miss St. Clair picks her dress up, smooths it out, places it on a chair which remains otherwise unoccupied. Such good bedroom manners, according to Allen Gilbert, are essential to married happiness once the honeymoon is over.

HOW A WIFE SHOULD UNDRESS . . .

Figure 2: *Life*, 15 February 1937.

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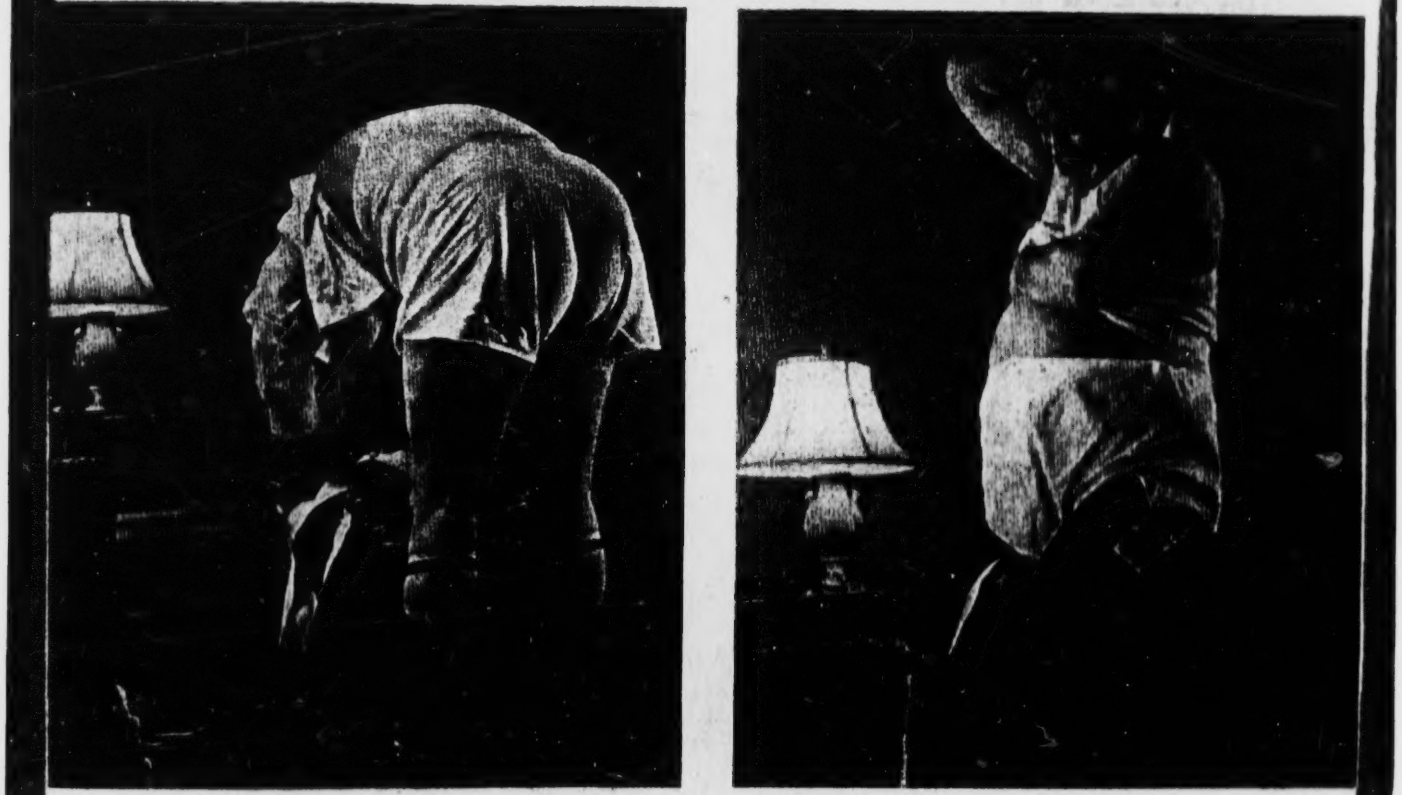
HERE'S HOW A MAN UNDRESSES



A hideous climax of [illegible] is reached with the overhead shirt movement.

Scratching yourself is a cardinal bedroom DON'T. Yet many men break this rule.

Figure 3 *Life*, 15 March 1937

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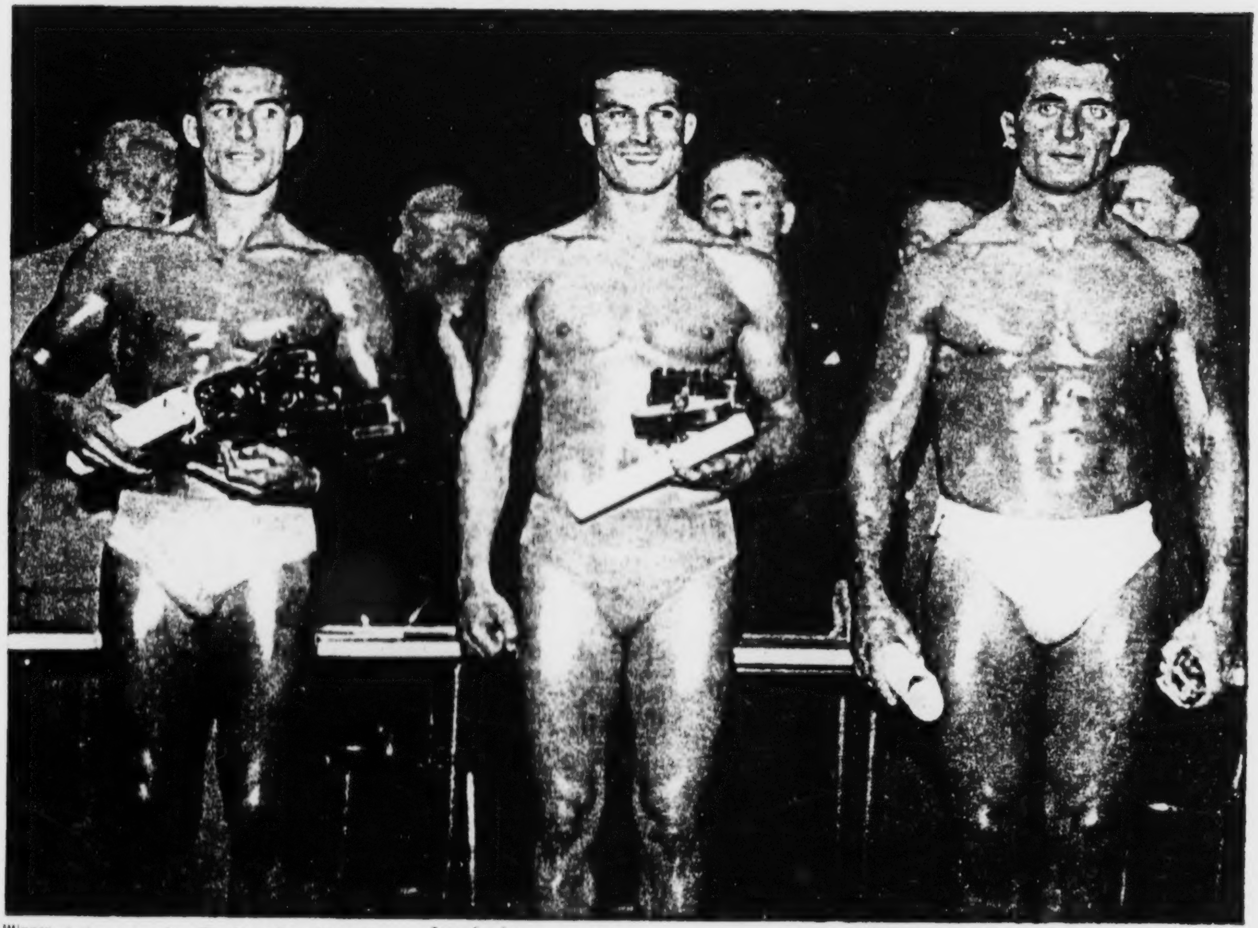
Figure 4: *Life*, 11 October 1937.

PARIS AND HOLLYWOOD PICK MEN FOR BEAUTY



Winner of the contest for "The Most Beautiful Athlete in Europe" was France's Jacques Pasquet, 24, 154 lb., 5 ft. 7½ in., holding his first prize, a panther statuette.

Second prize, a pair of binoculars, went to Italy's Tino Chrisa, 25, 152 lb., 5 ft. 7 in. Notice (*left background*) Kees van Dongen, famous painter and judge of the contest.

Third prize, a piece of bric-a-brac, went to France's Andre Rolet, 32, 182 lb., 5 ft. 8½ in., onetime champion weight-lifter of Europe, now a vaudeville tableau-poser.

"Most Beautiful Athlete in Europe"

One of the publicity stunts advertising the Paris Exposition was a contest for "The Most Beautiful Athlete in Europe." It was backed by two Paris newspapers and the French Federation of Physical Culture. Some 4,000 young men from ten European countries entered the contest and were reduced to 61 for the final eliminations in Paris on Sept. 19. Many of the contestants rubbed themselves with sunburn oil to make their bodies glisten and to bring out subtle excellences in muscling. This helped get the two men (*above at left and right*) first and third places. Others, such as the man in the middle, used ochre or iodine solution to achieve a red Indian skin. Others painted themselves with a purple permanganate solution. The French judges notably overlooked the blond Nordic entries, chose two Frenchmen and an Italian for the first three places. Hollywood's idea of a male body, however, is Glenn Morris, 1936 Olympic decathlon champion, cast for the lead in a new movie installment of Tarzan, the jungle man.

Hollywood body is Glenn Morris, 1936 Olympic decathlon champion, shown here rehearsing with 1932 Olympic Swimmer Eleanor Holm Jarrett for a new Tarzan movie.

French body is Contest Winner Jacques Pasquet, a physical education teacher in the town of Moulins in central France. He represents the Latin ideal of male beauty.

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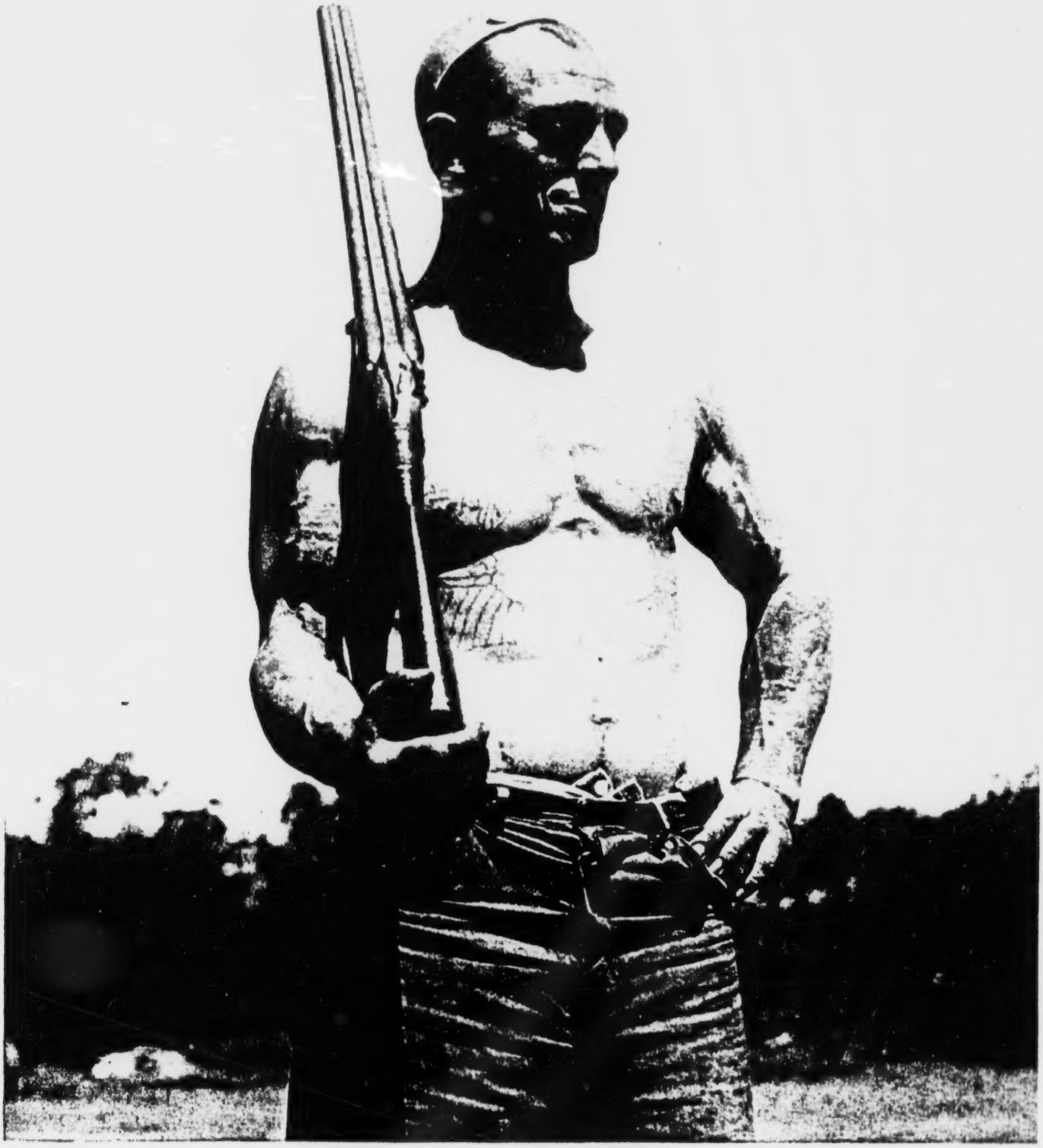
Figure 5: *Life*, 28 June 1937.

LIFE ON THE AMERICAN NEWSFRONT: THE MAN WITH THE HOE TAKES UP A GUN



This man with a gun symbolizes the violence which has ruled the steel strike. It is a battle not only of Capital against Labor, but of worker against worker. It has raised afresh the gravest issue now facing the U. S.: Shall labor relations be governed by force or by law?

The man above, Leonard Olds, is a worker at the Newton Steel Co. in Monroe, Mich. He is one of thousands of armed vigilantes, special and private police who, siding against their fellow workers, have been patrolling strike-torn steel towns from Monroe to Johnstown, Pa. After three weeks, 70,000 workers were idle and steel production had fallen from 92% to 76% of capacity.

"We are engaged in a civil war," wrote Pundit Dorothy Thompson in high alarm," and unless the struggle is returned to the arena of law, that civil war will extend itself into a class struggle which may destroy the American democracy."

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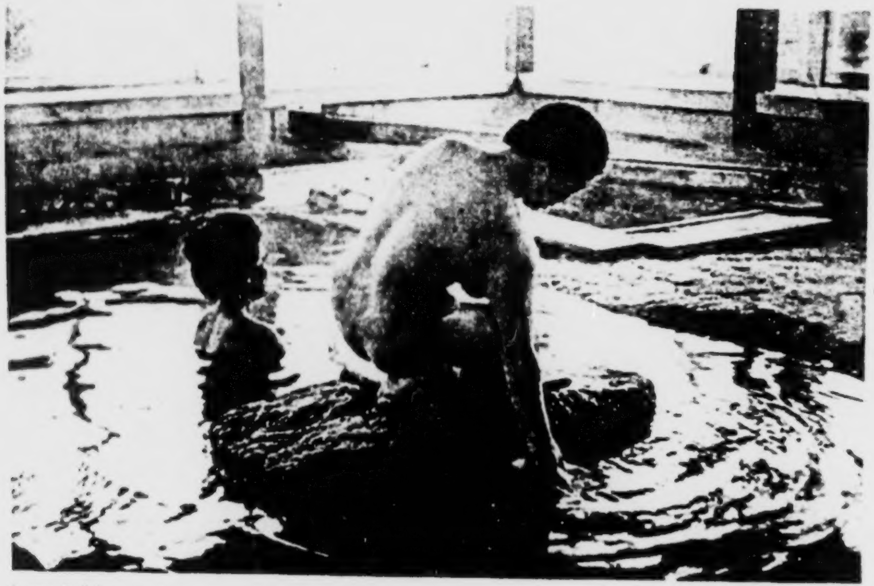
Figure 6: *Life*, 30 August 1937



espectable women in Japan have no objection to having their pictures taken in the bath here they spend a good part of their lives. Japanese women generally have thick, short legs, road bodies, strong, graceful necks and flat chests. They are capable of heavy physical work.

The World's Most Conventional People

Washing comes before soaking in Japanese public baths. These men are scrubbing themselves while singing choruses in the community bath. One is dousing himself clean before he steps into a big bath. Japanese can stand water of 140°, hotter than anyone except Finnish athletes.

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History

SEX COULD SELL A LOT OF SOAP:
POPULAR FORMULAS OF MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS, 1920 - 1929

by

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SEX COULD SELL A LOT OF SOAP:
POPULAR FORMULAS OF MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS, 1920 - 1929

Advertising, by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, had already become part of the American cultural landscape as large-scale manufacturers developed national markets for their brand-name, standardized products, and routinely introduced new ones with a wave of advertising. At the same time advertising content and style had changed gradually but decisively. Instead of logical arguments based on either the product's performance features or its ability to solve a problem, the new approach used powerful emotional appeals which increasingly portrayed consumers using the product and emphasized the satisfaction that came from owning the advertised good or making a gift of it. The trade journal Printers' Ink retrospectively observed this change as a shift from the "factory viewpoint" to concern with "the mental processes of the consumer," from the "objective to the subjective," from "descriptive data" to "talk in terms of ultimate buying motives."[1]

Although fundamental to advertising today, these ideas seemed novel and revolutionary in the early twentieth century -- especially the idea that the skillful use of emotional appeals could move products faster than any other approach. This pattern of verbal and visual expressions can also be thought of in terms of a literary formula which John G. Cawelti defines "is a structure of narrative or dramatic conventions employed in a great number of individual works." Or the term formula may refer to "popular story patterns."[2] By extension, it seems to me, we can refer to constantly duplicated selling arguments found in advertising as formulaic. Like literature, the advertising narrative also relies heavily on textual argument. Since the copy content of an advertisement often flows from a story or provides an interesting account of a problem or situation

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involving the product.

Historians Stephen Fox and Roland Marchand first brought attention to the use of formula as an analytical tool to study advertising content. In The Mirror Makers (1983), Fox observes that advertising alternates between regular cycles of "soft-sell" and "hard-sell" strategies. As history would repeatedly show, the public grew used to a certain style of advertising, stopped responding to it, and then respond when shown a new fashion.[3] Like Fox, Marchand aimed to understand the relationship between advertising and American culture, but he limited his study to the 1920s and 1930s. In Advertising the American Dream (1985), Marchand identified "great parables of the age" and "icons" as "persistent patterns of verbal and visual expression" which transferred meaning to the consumer audience,[4] but I believe the use of formula to understand the content of advertisements needs to be examined and further elaborated.

The purpose of this paper is to examine popular formulas of magazine advertisements in the 1920s, in particular, those emotive selling arguments that form such a large part of advertising. Beginning with the selling argument, we can sketch out formulas which are usually quite specific to a particular culture and period. The basic assumption of this theory is that like story patterns in popular literature, whenever a certain style appears to work, it is constantly duplicated until buyers stop responding, since the form would ensure commercial success. A successful ad works because it creates a connection between the product being advertised and some need or desire that the audience feels. These links, called "appeals," fall into two categories: logical and emotional. Logical (or rational) appeals base the selling pitch on either the product's performance features or its ability to solve a problem. In contrast, emotional appeals emphasize the satisfaction that comes from purchasing the product and then owning it or making a gift of it. An extremely strong appeal tells the consumer: "This is *the* product that will meet your needs or fulfill your desires."

Once formulaic patterns such as categories of emotional appeals are identified, we then can work backward to understand the underlying social realities, not only examining the audience for the ads, but also those who shaped the advertisements. To substantiate this general thesis, I have

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chosen to deal rather intensively with three major formulas based on the powerful emotional appeals of fear, sex, and emulation. However, I have not attempted to present an overall account of all types of formula and other important areas of popular advertising like stereotypical character types, but I have tried to define the major formulas that are characteristic of "modern" advertising.

Thus the paper opens with a review of the main approaches to advertising history to relate formulaic analysis to various other perspectives. The paper then attempts to examine the popularity of the Lifebuoy Soap, Woodbury's Facial Soap, and Lux Toilet soap campaigns, primarily as a springboard for discussion of how these advertising successes provided other admakers with a ready-made means to produce works which had a high probability of achieving commercial success. An attempt is also made to illustrate how these popular advertising formulas drew legitimacy from dominant cultural myths, beliefs, and values in America society during the 1920s. But why study soap?

No standardized, package good furnishes a more useful example of formula in advertising history than soap. Enterprising soapmakers, along with patent medicine medicines had taken the lead in advertising since manufacturers first nationally advertised soap. Just as a century ago, the largest of brand-name consumer products were Procter & Gamble and Lever Brothers, both still rank among the top multinational ad spenders in the United States. In addition, the Ladies Home Journal faithfully reflected certain strategies, genres, and the trend toward scientific advertising associated with the decade as was thought by historians to have changed during the period.[5] Thus, the case study of soap also illustrates the processes by which admakers created commercial messages to both reflect and shape American life with roots in popular culture as well as in the popular mind.

THE RIDDLE IN ADVERTISING HISTORY

Historians agree that national advertising emerged sometime around the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century. At this time, large-scale manufacturers developed national

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markets for their brand-name, standardized products. Selling quantities of goods produced for millions of consumers often required intensive advertising, but the manufacturers had few places to place their announcement for a national audience until about the 1890s, when popular magazines emerged as advertising vehicles like the Ladies Home Journal and Good Housekeeping, among others. The United States, sometime around 1900, passed from an era of competing small-scale entrepreneurs to big business, and a consumer society emerged. It had became routine to introduce new brand-name products with a wave of advertising. By the 1920s national advertising became a social institution in America as the business took on a new scope and maturity. Although historians concur on when national advertising emerged, few fully agree about the institution's larger social and cultural implications.

In the past, historians have chosen to approach the history of American advertising in one of two ways. Advertising either shapes consumer desires or is a true mirror of the times, to which I will refer to as either the "mind-bender" or the "mirror" argument. The debate began when David Potter, writing in People of Plenty (1954), urged historians to examine advertising more closely. His central idea was that modern advertising now compares with such long-standing institutions as the school and the church in the magnitude of its social influence. Potter explains that national advertising was fundamental to the transition from a society oriented to production to one of consumption. In this society of abundance, manufacturers can produce new kinds of goods faster than the mass society learns to desire these goods or regard them as essential to an adequate standard of living. Hence to expand the selling capacity, the culture must be reoriented to convert the producer's culture into a consumer culture. That is, a society with a new set of drives and values in which consumption is the primary goal. The chief drive is people's desire to not only imitate others, but their wish to surpass one another which fuels the demand for mass comforts and luxuries. The role of advertising then is to instill needs, train people to act as customers, and hasten their potential abundance. Ever since, Potter's idea of advertising as an institution of social control has become a comfortable historical perspective from which to criticize the industry as exerting more influence than providing information.

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The strongest criticism centered on the premise that hidden motives extracted from individuals could be accurately applied to a mass audience. The publication of Vance Packard's best seller The Hidden Persuaders (1957) informed the public about a new tool that had a major influence on advertising, motivational research. In fact, he claimed that two-thirds of the hundred biggest advertisers were using motivational research and subliminal advertising techniques to channel our thinking habits, purchasing decisions, and thought processes. The book, however, distorted the extent of psychological selling in this era.

Like Potter, Stuart Ewen in Captains of Consciousness also drew similar connections between the ways in which goods were promoted and the larger culture. From a Marxist perspective, Ewen sees modern advertising as a direct response to the needs of mass industrial capitalism. Industrialization was more than mass production of goods in a new way; it also entailed a process of socialization among working people, involving the mechanical clock-time of the factory, the wage process, and human management. Likewise, advertising also developed as a tool of social order, efficiently creating consumers for consumption of products. In the process, advertising created the dependable mass of consumers required by industry; and by buying, people sustained big business economically with a continuous striving to acquire disposable commodities.

However, I believe the criticism from the proponents of this manipulation argument is often unjustified and excessive. To be sure, advertisers spend millions of dollars trying to convince people that their product will make them sexier, healthier or more successful. If it's so easy to convince people to buy, why do more products fail than succeed?

Only recently have a few scholarly revisionist studies appeared. Daniel Pope's The Making of Modern Advertising (1983) traces the industry's emergence over a period of thirty years, 1890-1920, presenting advertising as a large complex business designed to meet the changing needs of other businesses. In another approach to advertising history, Stephen Fox's Mirror Makers (1983) focuses on the people--copywriters, artists, executives, and others--who produced twentieth-century American advertising and came to dominate the profession. According to Fox, there are

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regular cycles of advertising in American history which alternate between soft-sell and hard-sell strategies. Fox argues that the cycles occur at clearly defined periods and that once producers discover a successful formula -- a set of ingredients which seem to reflect audience needs and desires -- they tend to repeat it as often as it remains successful. The reality, however, is more complex.

Like Fox, Roland Marchand's Advertising the American Dream (1985), also sought to recognize certain patterns of verbal and visual expressions, but limited his study to the 1920s and 1930s. He began this work with the assumption that advertising was an uncomplicated social mirror, and instead concluded that he could not prove conclusively that American people absorbed the values and ideas of the ads, or that advertising completely and vividly mirror the times. As for an explanation, Marchand observes the most powerful distortion of social reality came from specific strategies to move merchandise; they often depicted not the consumers' reality but reflected their fantasies and aspirations. He also argues that most advertisements reflected the particular values and preoccupations of the ad creators, who were more likely to portray the upper-middle class and upper-class world they knew, not the world experienced by typical citizens. Thus, it is important to make clear that one studies advertisements as a cultural form not in isolation, rather one should attempt to understand the processes by which admakers created commercial messages within both a historical and social context.

Yet the major problem with the mirror/mind-bender dichotomy is that it obscures the deeper unity beneath the divided perceptions of how advertising relates to culture. We must look beyond the merits of the absolute positions which see advertising as either a mirror or a mind-bender. These concerns clearly miss the point. Whether or not the advertising industry has become an integral part of American life is not the issue. Without a doubt, advertising has become a matter-of-fact part of daily life. Why and how this happened and to whose benefit is a more productive line of questioning.

To understand the history of advertising one must examine a third position. As Sivulka's

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Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising (1998) points out, advertising like other forms of popular culture both instructs and shapes audience beliefs to some degree or another, because the very values being reflected are also being communicated as well. Like Sivulka, other recent scholars have made the advertising and the crucial vantage point of the creators (art directors and copywriters) the focus of academic study. Notably Jackson Lears' *Fables of Abundance* (1994) looks at advertising as symbolic of the age; Jennifer Scanlon's *Inarticulate Longings* (1995) examines gender issues specifically in the *Ladies Home Journal*; Roland Marchand's *Corporate Soul* addresses corporate advertising and public relations; while Pamela Laird's *Advertising Progress* (1999) studies the period before 1920.

What is needed, however, is a theoretical and methodical approach to systematically examine both a wide range and vast array of advertising to extend the evidential base over both time and the widest audiences. As Fox and Marchand skillfully demonstrate, the concept of formula provides a useful analytical tool to define major archetypal patterns. For example, Fox identifies regular cycles of "soft-sell" and "hard-sell" strategies in advertising history; while Marchand recognizes a pattern of "parables," or practical moral lessons drawn from everyday life, and "icons," or visual cliches, which flourished during the 1920s and early 1930s. "Several advertising parables were so frequently repeated and so effectively reduced to formulas that their entire story could be suggested by a phrase or two," observes Marchand. Among these, "the parable of the first impression" re-enacted a tragedy of manners; "the democracy of goods" enabled everyone to enjoy society's pleasures, conveniences, and benefits; and the "parable of civilization redeemed" proclaimed a victory of threats to health and beauty. He concludes that these advertising parables were employed for specific merchandising purpose to educate the consumer in the value of consumption. Marchand further extends this concept of formula to visual cliches.[6]

If much of advertising follows certain basic formulas such as great parables and visual imagery as Marchand demonstrates, then selling arguments may also lend themselves to a similar textual analysis through identification and interpretation of its persistent patterns.[7] This conception of advertising as being constructed from popular story types generally known as selling

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arguments, I will argue, serves as a valuable framework to theoretically and methodically understand the content of advertisements in a broader cultural context. Instead of focusing on one advertisement and restricting the evidential basis to the specific audience who reads one ad, this approach provides a means of generalizing the characteristics of large groups of individual works from certain combinations of of cultural materials and strategies. We will then be in a position to talk about the cultural considerations of "invention," or deviance of an ad form from the current or historical vogue, or to emphasize the "convention," considering the statement as a specific example of a type which has proved to be popular over a long period of time.[8] Finally, we also have the means of making historical and cultural inferences about the target of the advertisements from one cultural period to another.

Actually it does seem a common advertising narrative revolved around issues of lifestyle and image during the 1920s. Viewed in this way, we can understand why it is that consumers of this generation were encouraged to buy the "right" wardrobe, the "right" home furnishings, and the "right" car. To objectify such emotive appeals by giving them a specific form, the more we can come to know the social values and popular attitudes of the period. To reach this audience, admakers created a variety of devices to attract consumers, updating old pitches, and inventing new appeals to replace older, rational selling arguments. Through frequent repetition of fear, sex, and emulation appeals, the topic of the next section, advertising played an ever greater role in creating and fueling desires that both reflect and shape American life.

THREE FORMULAS IN THE MAKING

In particular, the J. Walter Thompson agency pioneered this dramatic shift away from selling goods and services to using well-known psychological devices to entice customers. The agency's advertisements of such products as Woodbury's Facial Soap, Lifebuoy soap, Fleischmann's Yeast, Odorono deodorant, Listerine mouthwash, Lux Toilet Soap, and Pond's Cold Cream successfully incorporated fear, sex, and emulation appeals to condition consumers to

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want the products. Other admakers quickly copied these formulaic approaches to sell everything from etiquette books to scouring pads. Moreover, the use of these emotive selling arguments marks the shift from early straightforward announcement, jingles, and pretty pictures to modern advertising which emphasized the satisfaction that came from owning the product and making a gift of it.

From the very start, the advertising world assumed that most ads were read by women, most of the products were purchased by women, and that women should be the primary target of their efforts. According to the Journal, women controlled an estimated 80 to 85 percent of household spending in 1929.[9] Admen, however, drew on a long tradition that assumed a women's place was in the home, believing that women were only concerned with "their desire to look young and sexually appealing."[10] During World War I, measurements of "I.Q.," intelligence quotient were perfected, and through the 1920s, psychologists repeatedly reminded admakers that most people "have the mind of a child of ten.[11] "Mrs. Consumer" had a "vocabulary of only about 1,200 words," wrote home economist Christine Frederick, and her "education consists approximately of a sixth grade education; and a fourteen-year old mentality, if as much."[12]

Who then was writing these ads? Although there were a few well-known women in the advertising field, most were hidden in support roles and not credited for their contribution. Marchand concludes that 99 percent of the writers and designers of advertisements were white men.[13] Although women generally had limited influence in producing advertising; non-white ethnic and racial groups had even less. Still another study of major ad agencies showed that the mid-level salaries of the experienced professionals placed their personal income at five times the national average, that 66 percent of the copywriters had servants in their homes, and that the majority held an Ivy League education.[14] Clearly distinctive characteristics of class, culture, education, gender, and ethnicity separated ad creators from their audience. The J. Walter Thompson Agency was the exception. Headed by Helen Lansdowne Resor, a skilled well-paid female staff was established to provide the feminine point of view, creating ads that would appeal

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to women consumers for products like Crisco, Woodbury Facial Soap, and Lux Toilet Soap, among others.[15]

Yet once the admakers understood that their audience was overwhelmingly female, strategies for copy content and selling appeal seemed evident. With this in mind, admakers, who considered women more emotionally vulnerable than men, often manipulated women's hidden desires to be sought after and well-liked and to join the successful middle-class. "The advertising culture, more than the culture at large acknowledged that one of the things that linked women was a persuasive discontent," writes Jennifer Scanlon. "Women found their inarticulate longings for sensuality, financial independence, and emotional fulfillment channeled through what Jackson Lears calls an 'unconscious collaboration,' rather than a conspiracy."[16]

In linking those inarticulate longings to consumption, advertising campaigns also acknowledge the new mass media -- movies, radio, glossy magazines, and tabloid newspapers -- which was shaping the values of a younger generation. Hollywood film stars usually embodied the ideal, which was presented to the nation through the movies and reinforced by magazine photographs and articles, advertisements, models, and pinup girls. And American women spared little effort or expense trying to make nature over to the ideals set forth in national media. In fact, the per capita output of perfume, cosmetics, and toilet preparations tripled during this period.[17]

In particular, two phenomena of popular culture provided admakers with new insights into the female market--tabloid newspapers and confession magazines. First introduced as the Illustrated Daily News in 1919, the concept of "tabloid copy for tabloid minds" gained credibility as the tabloid newspapers quickly generated enormous circulation.[18] The term "tabloid audience" came to characterize the reading taste of average men and women. Photographs dominated the day's sensational stories, while regular features included advice columns for young women.[19] At the same time, True Story magazine's first-person, confessional stories also attracted more than two million readers a month, aiming its dramatic personal accounts at the young working woman.[20] Madison Avenue began to recognize that these readers had plenty of money to spend

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on fashion, cosmetics, and soap.

In order to reach this tabloid audience, advertisers experimented with new copy formulas and illustrated the ads with human-interest which appealed to the powerful emotions of fear, sex, and emulation. Looking at the whole range of selling arguments in the 1920s, it seems to me that there are three primary advertising formulas which a majority of the soap ads with human-interest appeals can be subsumed. I will first list the formulas and then define them with specific examples: First Impression; Romance, and Emulation.

The First Impression Formula. The central story of the "first impression" formula is of the hero or heroine overcoming the obstacles and dangers of a personal or domestic disaster by simply using the friendly advertiser's product.[21] The wrong soap could ruin a new chiffon dress, irritate the tender skin of a baby, and so on. Whereas the early advertising by fear campaigns had dealt with physical disasters of some sort, the new "scare" or "whisper copy" went to new lengths to grab the reader's attention and evoke broader fields of human response.[22] Instead of facing real-life challenges like an actual physical accident or illness, the men and women who starred in these ads faced dramatic real-life challenges.

Using this basic formula, admakers dramatized immediate social success or failure as ads pictured case after case of women committing an unforgivable social offense, because their complexion, hands, or laundry didn't measure up. The cumulative effect likely reinforced the reader's impression of being surrounded by a host of accusing eyes and unspoken comments. Often the ad left readers with guilt and anxiety, thinking they created similar barriers between acquaintances and friends. But the right appearance was a simple matter of using the advertised product. Thus the ads began to look more like messages of public service by soap manufacturers.

Use of such a negative slant was initially spurred by the 1922 Listerine "Halitosis" campaign which first sold the general antiseptic as a "breath deodorant."[23] Since installments of the dramatic Listerine campaign created new anxieties as it provided the product as a solution to avert social disasters, from missed invitations to ruined marriages, occasioned by unpleasant breath

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-- or "halitosis," the medical-sounding word which the agency used to talk about bad breath in polite company. Annual earnings jumped from $115,000 in 1921, to over $8 million in 1928.[24]

Although fundamental to advertising today, Listerine's idea to jolt consumers into a new consciousness seemed novel at the time and proved that the skillful use of emotional appeals could move products faster than any other approach. With this phenomenal success as a model, negative appeals in advertisements of foods, toilet articles, medicine, and sanitary napkins nearly doubled over the next five years. In 1922, such appeals occurred in 10 percent of the advertisements; and in 1927, in 19 percent of the ads.[25]

This first impression formula appeared fully developed in JWT's "Body Odor" campaign for Lifebuoy soap. The agency originally promoted Lifebuoy as "the soap that cleans and disinfects, purifies -- at one operation." A 1919 market investigation brought out that "the principal market for Lifebuoy soap is as a family soap for general health and toilet purpose." Moreover, the agency also concluded that all the advertisements consider the housekeeper as the purchasing agents, since the soap is apt to be purchased at a grocery store. With this in mind, advertisements considered the homemaker as the purchasing agent even though the admakers wrote the copy to attract the attention of other members of the family.[26] By the 1920s, the company had softened the appeal with the slogan, "Use Lifebuoy Health Soap" with different "protect-the-children" messages aimed at both men and women, suggested using the soap for their own and family use for bath, hands, and to a lesser degree for face and hair. Since Lifebuoy could be too strong compared to milder Ivory or castille soap, it wasn't promoted for use on baby's delicate skin. Instead ads urged: "Mothers -- for the health of your children and husband -- keep a cake of Lifebuoy soap at every place where there is running water." "Train children and husband to use Lifebuoy regularly." and "Get through the winter without a cold!"[27] For fathers, health-oriented ads also appealed to their pride: "Let Daddy wash up - *first!*" exclaimed one headline, followed by, "Wise Daddy. No dangerous city dirt passes from his hands to his loved ones."[28]

Came 1926 and JWT shifted the selling argument from points about health care to social

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disgrace with the slogan "Lifebuoy Health Soap stops Body Odor." Print ads dramatically made the point. One 1928 ad portrayed "Poor Uncle Ed", as "a half-failure -- too bad he never suspected 'B. O.' (Body Odor.)" The copy went on:

> People never liked him. Despite his geniality, even men had denied friendship. For all his ability, real success had always evaded him.
>
> Now he was past middle age -- a lonely man -- unpopular, just a half-way success -- and all for the same unpardonable failing -- "B. O." *Body Odor.*

The insidious thing about body odor, the ad continued, is that the offender is the last to know. Even your closest friends won't tell you. But the friendly Lifebuoy advisor could. Lifebuoy gave "the marvelous freshness that lasts for hours, with never a hint of 'B. O.'" (Figure 1).

Like Listerine, installments of the dramatic Lifebuoy campaign presented other social disasters from lost business to ruined romances. On later radio shows, a foghorn boomed: "B. O-O-O-O-O ! " But Lifebuoy soap would "protect" its users. As these stop-smelling pitches ran, business boomed for Lever Brothers. The Lifebuoy campaign worked, because admakers struck a responsive chord with public. JWT recognized the value of promoting consumer products as solutions for fearful individuals in a hostile world. The inferiority complex had become a "valuable thing in advertising," explained William Esty, a JWT account executive at an agency meeting in 1930.[29] Instead of being frightened into buying a product, the prospect is shamed and ridiculed. An appeal made to his pride.

Other whisper copy revolved around other unspoken comments. Soap-and-water clean, but still are you above reproach? Such ads made it clear that while "personal daintiness" may begin with cleanliness, it does not end there. "Nothing has more influence on your appearance than the condition of your skin," according to a series of Woodbury's Facial Soap ads. In fact, your whole popularity will be determined by this crucial first impression. Such ads simply started out: "His unspoken thoughts when he looks into your face--what are they?" or "All around you people are judging you silently."[30] Thus, all of these women's grooming efforts were for naught. Not even the prettiest clothes, charm of manner, or highest character could counteract that first impression of

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neglect and carelessness about appearance.

Such advertising powerfully communicated the disadvantages of not owning or using the advertised product. In fact, such negative emotional appeals in advertisements of foods, toilet articles, medicine, and sanitary napkins nearly doubled over the decade. In 1922, such appeals occurred in 10 percent of the advertisements; and in 1927, in 19 percent of the ads.[31]

Advice from authority figures in the form of confidential advisors proved a significant departure from the representation in the earlier periods. Counseling by scientific experts had already become a characteristic part of advertising. Ads exalted advice from doctors, scientists, and other specialists which followed the voguish fashion of scientific selling. By the 1920s, however, advertisers found a new archetypal form in the confidential advisor, similar to the authorities featured in the advice-to-the-lovelorn columns found in popular magazines like True Story and the tabloid newspapers.[32] Though such personal advisors as "Betty Crocker" for General Mills, "Marjorie Mills" for Lux soap, and "Helen Chase" for Camay soap were actually pseudonyms for real writers; thousands of women still wrote letters seeking advice and inevitably received "personally signed" replies. Ad writers had realized that such personalized, conversational copy effectively reached each reader one person at a time. Such ads also implied that women needed professional experts and authority figures to give them directions in the most mundane aspects of everyday life.

Moreover, the first impression formula sold a lot more than just soap, it also successfully pitched everything from deodorant to etiquette books. One of the most important effects of using the advertised products, many of these ads suggested, was the self-confidence in the consumer it created. The merchandising strategy underlying this first impression theme was obvious. Appearance and material goods were more significant in the mobile, urban society of the 1920s, for people increasingly conceived of the details of their personal appearance and that of their home as an index of their true character.

Yet the moralistic message implicit in the first impression formula also speaks to another set

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of issues encompassed by the concept of the disciplinary gaze (or panopticism). French scholar Michel Foucault offered this term to characterize a type of social control that ensues from the feeling of being under constant surveillance. Under these conditions, the individual becomes his/her own agent of surveillance, conforming to normative conventions even when not being actually observed by others.[33] According to Foucault, the disciplinary gaze has emerged as a major ordering principle of modern social life. In this contemporary form, it describes "ongoing and continuous processes which subject our bodies, govern our gestures, dictate our behaviors, etc."[34] As illustrated in scare or whisper copy which promoted the soap-and-water habit, the disciplinary gaze has less to do with presenting a desirable image than avoiding the ridicule, guilt, or other forms of emotional distress that result from being seen or revealed as a deviant. Indeed, the first impression formula provided admakers with a powerful new selling tool.

The Romance Formula The crucial defining characteristic of the romance formulas is not that it stars a female, but the organizing action is that the advertised product brings two potential lovers together and to a deeper, more secure relationship. But it was the path-breaking work of Helen Resor for Woodbury's Facial Soap which demonstrated that sex could sell a lot of soap. The campaign also demonstrated how skillful use of emotional appeals could move products faster than any other appeal.

Since 1911 Woodbury's complexion soap used three essential elements: a romantic man and woman situation with a dominant sex appeal, focused on "the skin you love to touch" as key to desirable charm, and the famous Woodbury's treatment for overcoming skin problems. The JWT agency had sought to transform Woodbury's Facial Soap from a skin cure to a mass-market facial soap. Initially the advertising budget was set at $25,000, "an appropriation so small that it would not even allow a local campaign in one of the larger metropolitan centers."[35]

The agency's efforts began with a preliminary survey, which showed that distribution among druggists was extensive but thin due to light consumer demand. So the agency next turned to discovering a compelling appeal: "As the largest potential market for the product was feminine,

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undefined factors like emotion, fine psychological reactions and feminine habits of thought were more important than objective facts in determining this appeal."[36] Accordingly, the entire women's Editorial Department devoted the next six months to studying their own reactions to the use of the product, over 100 books and articles on the care and treatment of skin, laboratory analysis of the soap, interviews with housewives as to how people washed and cared for their skin, and what distinct service did Woodbury's soap perform. Another source of information came from the country's leading skin experts, one of whom, Dr. Broemer, former head of the New York Skin and Cancer Hospital, was later retained as a permanent advisor to the editorial staff.[37]

Findings showed that even in the simple matter of face-washing "there existed all the differences between carelessness and what might be called art." Tests also disclosed definite advantages in the use of Woodbury's Facial Soap for the skin, which were worked out into a series of treatments for skin troubles, but research also showed that users had to be clearly shown added results and service to justify the 25 cent price. Since other soaps made the same claims as Woodbury, but they cost 50% to 75% less.[38]

The first advertisement appeared in the Saturday Evening Post July 1910 issue, featuring "Conspicuous nose pores -- how to reduce them." This first campaign stopped the falling sales curve for the first time in fourteen years, and JWT's work continued. The following year, the agency considerably changed the package, wrapped a booklet of instructions around the cake, and began using beauty culture methods to sell a mass market product. Called the "Woodbury Treatment," ads explained how to cleanse the skin with Woodbury soap and hot water, massage the face, then close the pores with cold water or ice, all skin-care techniques long used by beauty culturists. Adapting a running commentary on skin problems, ads targeted a series of disorders such as "conspicuous nose pores," "red, rough hands," freckles, and "sluggish skin," solving each one with the Woodbury treatment. Ads headlined "How to Wash," while new treatments introduced "Oily skin," "Shiny nose," and "How to take make your skin fine in texture." By

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doing so, this whole educational story reinforced a strong appeal of women's wish both to be beautiful and charming and to have a smooth, clear, attractive skin.

This beauty appeal was embodied in the slogan, "A Skin You Love to Touch" written by Helen J. Lansdowne Resor, a JWT copywriter. It first appeared in her celebrated 1911 advertisement for Woodbury, which featured a painting of an attractive couple and a provocative headline that invited the audience to read further (Figure 2). The ad copy featured a skin-care regimen and closed with an offer for a week's supply of soap, plus the art from the advertisement. Instead of merely selling soap, the landmark ad also discussed the benefits of using the product, suggesting softness, sex appeal, and even romance. Later ads in the series appeared with different illustrations but kept that headline with its muted sexuality. "The phrase sings itself into your memory," the sober *Atlantic Monthly* commented. "The pictures of this famous series have probably been seen by more people at one time than any others ever painted."[39] Previous ads had exploited sex and pretty women, but none with the effectiveness and persistence of the Woodbury's campaign. (The campaign began, it should be noted, several years before Dr. Watson joined the JWT agency and started explaining the psychological impact of tapping irrational drives.).

Resor had added the essential emotional appeal to the sales argument. "I added the feminine point of view," she explained. "I watch the advertising to see that the idea, the wording, and the illustrating were effective for women."[40] Her words and visuals embraced women's hope, fears, desires, and dreams regardless of what they did for a living. She understood why women prefer to buy soap over shortening, an so she presented provocative arguments for improving oneself and aspiring to the lifestyle of richer people. As Resor defined it, these "editorial style" ads resembled the adjacent reading material and centered around an arresting image, followed by gentle selling copy that provided specific selling reasons to purchase the product.[41] The ad then closed with a coupon offering free or inexpensive product samples by mail. Thus, this powerful style blended soft-sell, human interest with a hard-sell, reason-why

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sales argument.

About the advertising, copywriter Edith Lewis, of JWT, later explained that where a product faced great resistance, or where it had strong competition, one sometimes had to draw on outside sources in order to reinforce the emotional quality. "One has to invent a situation or create an interest outside the product itself or its uses, in order to awaken an emotional response. She adds," by creating situations that bring strongly before the reader's imagination the social disadvantages of a bad complexion, the social incentives for a good one."[42] Clearly, the Woodbury advertising is a case in point

The Woodbury's Facial Soap advertising initially appeared exclusively in the important women's publications of large national circulation like the Ladies' Home Journal to bolster the extensive, though thin, distribution of the product.[43] The agency also conducted market investigations to determine that the market for the soap, they found it compromised of women from sixteen to sixty years of age, of the middle and upper classes throughout the country. As national magazines offered the greatest and most economical coverage of this market, this print media naturally became the backbone of the campaign. As a result, advertising transformed an unpleasantly stinging soap into a wildly popular beauty aid by dramatizing the product itself -- describing it with so much feeling, it seems so attractive and desirable that nothing else is needed.[44] Sales of the Woodbury line skyrocketed, from $515,000 in 1915 to $2.58 million five years later.[45]

What Woodbury's campaign undertook was to educate women about the nature and working of their skin, the cause of common skin problems, and the way in which these defects could be overcome, by the right cleansing method with the advertised product. This whole educational story was then reinforced by a strong emotional appeal of women's desire to be beautiful and charming, to have a smooth, clear, attractive skin, embodied in the now famous and for the time, slightly racy slogan, "For skin you love to touch." The association of Woodbury's Facial Soap with this prescriptive program, of giving women practical help and instruction in the

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care of their skin, did more to establish its prestige as a skin soap than any mere assertion of its merits.

Advertisements for Woodbury's Facial Soap, among others, also reinforced nineteenth-century Victorian ideals. A woman's place is in the home, and her worth is measured by her beauty not accomplishments. "Through beauty women can enter into her kingdom -- woman's kingdom -- where, as friend, sweetheart, wife, mother, she reigns in serene majesty and infinite power." Moreover, beauty was not just a birthright, it was a duty.

> Given an attractive heart and mind, a woman must be totally deficient in some womanly qualities who calmly accepts pimples, moles, obnoxious hair upon the face or unsightly features with what she deems becoming resignation, and views the effort to rid herself of such disfigurements as a sinful pandering to feminine vanity.

Ironically, a regime of JWT women copywriters, although small, also came to advance what would become key tenets of normative femininity.[46] In selling goods to women, much was spoken of the "woman's point of view" as 85% of all purchases were made by women. A corporate advertisement put it this way: "It is a question of establishing *these facts* -- in the life of the housewife, the mother, the young girl. It is a question of *knowing* their needs, their desires, their tastes, their prejudices." These facts then establish the work of presenting articles to be sold to women. To do so, JWT had developed a staff of women thoroughly trained in advertising, holding degrees from Barnard, Smith, Vassar, University of Chicago, and Columbia, among other prestigious colleges.[47]

Yet these advertisements also offered hope -- hope in a cake of soap. It is possible for anyone willing to use the advertised product to be pleasing to look upon, pleasant to think of, and stay in good health -- that is, to improve oneself and aspire to the lifestyle of more privileged people. In the process, cleansing, beautifying, and consumption became knitted together as the American way.

The Emulation Formula The essential premise of the emulation formula is that people like to read

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about other people. This discovery profoundly affected not only advertising, but the editing of newspapers, magazines, books, movies, and the radio noted Stanley Resor, president of the J. Walter Thompson Agency. According to Resor, there are three basic reasons why people like to read about people. One is curiosity, people love to gossip. Another is that people also desire to know how the other half lives, whether its the movie fan reading what his idols eat for breakfast, or society enjoying plays and stories in which the humbler aspects of life are depicted.

Still another reason observed Resor, people eternally searched for authority and copied those whom they deem superior in taste or knowledge or experience. "The desire to emulate proved stronger in women than in men, he claimed."[48] According to Gina Lombroso, the celebrated early twentieth-century Italian psychologist, a woman's self-fulfillment derived from the objects and people immediately about her, unlike men who gained their satisfaction from within themselves from more abstract and impersonal subjects.[49] Thus, the spirit of emulation enables her to become a princess or a movie queen by using toilet soap or cold cream that prominent people recommended.

Finally, Resor suggested that people eternally search for authority. "Royalty, aristocracy, feudalism, dominated the world for scores of centuries," wrote the JWT president, "instilling in the masses a sense of inferiority and an instinctive veneration for 'their betters.'"[50] When it came to who people seriously listened to, Resor observed that generally the public had both little discrimination and an insistent hunger for personalities as evidenced in newly popular tabloid newspapers, confession magazines, success magazines, decorating magazines, and motion pictures. Clearly, the public wanted its news, education, and entertainment conveyed through the medium of personalities whom they regarded as authorities in their respective field. Thus, Resor concluded that since prominent people had become an integral feature of almost every editorial program, it was logical for advertising to present its messages through people to whom the public will listen with interest and respect.[51]

Not a new idea, the widespread practice of securing testimonials at a price dates back to the nineteenth century. Often these endorsements were wholly misrepresentative, because they

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embodied not sincere testimony of an actual user of the product, but a statement purchased for money and publicity. The choice of endorser will tell us what sort of person the admaker, who from study of popular attitudes, has determined that the public will best accept as an "authority."

During the 1920s, J. Walter Thompson introduced an upscale version of the testimonial, giving the old form credibility by obtaining endorsement from famous people, not just ordinary citizens. Yet must testimonials be spontaneous and unsolicited to be legitimate? Although some of the most successful testimonial campaigns ever run have featured hundreds of endorsers, none of whom were paid, others have used a few names at a considerable cost. According to Resor, "very little that is worth while in this world is secured without solicitation."[52] When only testimonials of people who enthusiastically use the product are employed, payment has no effect on their opinion. In so doing, Resor believed that testimonial advertising would not abuse the confidence of the reader and eventually lessen his belief in advertising. Rather readers will read them because they are they like to read; and as a result, they will have an increased interest in advertising.

The emulation formula, however, did get remarkable results for Lux Toilet Soap with the famous "Hollywood" personality campaign. The introduction of Lux Toilet Soap -- the first white, French-milled toilet soap at a popular price in America -- was preceded by years of tests. Women had already extended the use of Lux Flakes laundry soap to the general realm of toilet soap -- that is, they were using Lux in flake form for their hands, baths, babies, and shampoo.[53] Surveys in the early 1920s also showed women wanted a white toilet soap which wouldn't cost the 50 cents to $2 that French soaps were selling for.[54] To meet this demand, Lever Brothers launched Lux Toilet Form, a fine-textured, fragrant toilet soap for face, hands, and bath. Selling for a dime, the 4 1/2 ounce cake directly competed with such best-selling soaps as Ivory, Fairy, and Palmolive.[55]

The JWT agency designed both the form of the cake and the wrapper for Lux Toilet Form. The idea for the wrapper designed by John DeVries came from the findings of an informal market research study. Several members of the JWT agency had conducted a "looking tour" at a 1923 New York exhibit of American furniture and china at Anderson Galleries, to observe color

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schemes and to get suggestions for the toilet soap wrapper. From this survey came the idea for a sampler design; the word Lux in shades of violet and a flower border in delicate violet, green, and yellow on a plain white wrapper. In the agency's opinion, "such a wrapper would make a strong appeal through its historic background the present interest in sampler and cross-stitch work."[56]

In particular, Lever Brothers felt an "absolute necessity for keeping Lux Toilet Form divorced from Lux Flakes is of first importance." Why? The company did not want to build up a business at the expense of the more profitable Lux Flakes, as the "profit on Lux Flakes per package is equal to the profit of two cakes of Toilet Form, it would be the poorest form of business policy," explains Mr. F. A. Countway, then president of Lever Brothers Company. He further made the point that Lux Toilet Form should be placed on a "pinnacle, removed from any suggestion of laundry or dishpan use."[57]

With this in mind, the first series of advertisements appeared in 1925. The copy was directed to all classes, and offered a fine white soap made as the finest French Soaps at a popular price"[58] The ads drew on numerous "French-type" ideas in both the copy and display to connect with the foreign idea contained in the references to France.[59] For instance, the advertising headlines fully developed this theme: "'Please -- an exquisite soap we can love like French soaps'" women pleaded;" "Made as women asked --'As exquisite as French soaps;'" and "So captivating -- so Parisian."[60] Meanwhile, the copy offered perfumed soap users, a delightful fragrance; to those who prefer lather, a generous froth almost at the touch of water; to those economy-minded, a soap that wears to a wafer; and for those not satisfied with the soap they are use or eager to try something new, a change that will meet their exacting demands.[61]

The artwork used, while now commonplace, was at that time ultra-smart and modern. Inspired illustrators and designers framed these advertising messages for Lux Toilet Soap in the fashionable "French-type" classic Art Deco decorations to appeal to this select audience. The Art Deco style had originated with the 1925 "Exposition des Arts Decoratifs" in Paris, which sought to establish international standards in the decorative arts and architecture. Advertising artists drew on

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these new design ideas, rendering highly stylized line-drawings with a wide variety of exotic motifs: oriental, Egyptian, Aztec, and other historical styles. Clearly, these admakers tried to uplift the popular-priced toilet soap to the finest French soaps selling from 50 cents to $2, up to twenty times as much per cake of Lux.

By 1926, Lux Toilet Form sales performed so successfully in the East that Lever Brothers began national distribution. The following year, newspaper advertising was boosted by the addition of magazine ads, while couponing began on a large scale, and car cards appeared in street cars and buses. During the same year, the product name was changed from Lux Toilet Form to Lux Toilet Soap. Also in the first two years after the introduction, the ad theme of Parisian luxury without extravagance was extended to include acceptance by men in the family. For example, one ad in the series declared: "It has captivated those sternest of critics - *THE MEN*." Next came use use by the entire family, not only husband, but sons, daughters, and the baby with headlines like "My entire family insists on it."[62] Within three years sales reached over the million-case mark.[63]

In 1927 Lux advertising abruptly changed face, it became strongly competitive, making extensive use of "personality" advertising or testimonials. One reason for this marked changed in strategy became as Lever Brothers increased circulation in small towns and in farm sections, they also reduced the amount of color space.[64] The same year also saw the introduction of photographs in the place of the initial stylized line drawings.[65] As JWT executive Mr. Esty viewed it, the drawings had several drawbacks: "Some were successful and some were not," but even then, "the very best in drawings falls short of reality in portraying real people." So the Lux campaign shifted from drawings to actual photographs for "far more of an air of conviction."[66]

From 1928, Lux Toilet Soap advertising consistently used a photographic technique which featured the fact that 9 out of 10 Screen Stars use it. But the agency had decided that making Lux Toilet Soap the largest selling soap in Hollywood could not be legitimately done within the time frame they had. So they set out to ensure that all the studios in Hollywood use Lux Toilet Soap and nothing else, and a large majority of actresses should use this soap continuously and to the exclusion of anything else. In order to get such representation, JWT enlisted the backing of Mr.

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249

Quirk, President of Photoplay, a magazine which has tremendous influence in Hollywood, and on the people in Hollywood. Before the campaign broke, the JWT agency had set up very elaborate machinery, not only making sure the studios and the individuals used the soap; but they also received a supply of soap at regular intervals. Then, too, the agency even had liquid soap machines removed from the dressing rooms, replacing it with Lux cake soap. "Very quickly it became impossible to wash your hands in Hollywood unless you used Lux Toilet Soap," explained Mr. Esty.[67]

After securing names for prominent actresses and directors, the second phase involved executing an intensive campaign on which featured the celebrities. Danny Danker, a JWT representative in Hollywood, signed up unknown actresses hankering for publicity, who gave their names in exchange for a crateful of Lux. Then, if they made it, Danker put them in Lux ads for no further expense.[68] The first use of a movie star in Lux ads was of Doris Kenyon early in 1928. Later that same year, this now famous slogan appeared for the first time in a Lux ad, after investigation had shown that 96 percent of the stars used Lux: "9 out of 10 Screen Stars care for their Skin with Lux Toilet Soap."[69] Stars like Joan Crawford ("Never have I had anything like it for keeping the skin smooth"), Janet Gaynor ("Lux Soap has a caressing quality"), Clara Bow, and many others appeared to testify for Lux (Figure 3). The actresses did not actually speak the words attributed to them; and if they used the product at all, they did not necessarily prefer it to all others. With the famous movie endorsement campaign in 1928, sales for Lux Toilet Soap nearly doubled in one year.[70]

In response, Palmolive challenged the statement that nine out of ten stars used Lux Toilet soap and that it was the official soap used in Hollywood dressing rooms. The agency sent the famous publicity agent Harry Rickenbah and even the President of Lord & Thomas agency to Los Angeles to make offers of $2,500 to $25,000 each for broadcast stars, but securing few names.[71] So Palmolive countered not with a similar Hollywood testimonial campaign the following year, but with endorsements from celebrated beauty specialists such as Lisa Cavalieri, Masse of Paris, and

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Fontaine of Brussels who advocated a twice-a-day treatment with soap to keep skin lovely.[72] Although successful, the Palmolive's famous campaign never achieved the same success as Lux Toilet Soap's Hollywood series, but it did force Lever Brothers to intensify their advertising efforts.

In 1929, to lend the Lux testimonials greater conviction and increase the atmosphere of glamour, JWT posed the stars in beautiful bathrooms in Hollywood especially designed for them. In order to take real photographs, however, JWT faced the problem of where to to get the bathrooms, since the number of actual bathrooms which were impressive and luxurious was negligible. Instead, the agency created 25 different bathrooms ranging from classic Greek to ultra modern and actually built them in Hollywood studios. Many of the bathrooms built actually had water piped into the baths, showers, and wash bowls, sparing no expense in making them absolutely right.[73] Still the cost of the photography and custom sets added up to no more than the drawings which were used for the 1928 year.[74] In the same year, another series of ads featured leading Hollywood directors pointing out the importance to a girl's charm of smooth, lovely skin in addition to pictures of the stars with testimonials.

In the process, JWT built up an added appeal for the Lux brand name. "They exploited it as something magical, mysterious, and in some way synonymous with fashion," explained Mrs. Devree at an agency staff meeting. "Fashion and style, always belonging to the upper class, were becoming the prerogatives of the middle class. And Thompson tied up with fashion and rode it through years of success."[75] In fact, the Lux "Hollywood" campaign continued for the next twenty years.[76]

Clearly, the J. Walter Thompson testimonial campaigns demonstrated this blatant appeal to emulation. If a woman used Woodbury's Facial Soap, she would be lovingly embraced by a handsome man in evening clothes; while a purchase of Lux Toilet Soap gave her the same soap that Hollywood starlets put on their faces. "Despite the famous names, JWT's testimonials were no more honest than others," concluded historian Stephen Fox.[77] Anything from a bar of soap to

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laundry detergent was advocated for everything from a woman's youthful look to the consummation of a happy marriage. So intense became the competition for big-name testimony by the 1930s, the whole business became an absurdity in the eyes of an increasingly sophisticated public, a threat to advertising's effectiveness. Nevertheless such testimonial ads proved highly successful for two other JWT products, Pond's Cold Cream and Fleischmann Yeast

The emulation formula told consumers that, to be socially acceptable, they had to buy the "right" wardrobe, the "right" home furnishings, and the "right" automobile to maintain a certain image and lifestyle. Admakers also recognized that consumers would rather identify with scenes of status, rather than ponder reflections of their actual realities. Admakers showcased products in upscale settings such as salons, ballrooms, and theatres. Such high-class scenes and high-society models portrayed a picture of the social elite who recognized products of quality, "the good things in life," an advertisers calculated that their taste would trickle down to the masses. Thus, the ads portrayed an ideal modern life, one to which young working women and those readers in the upper-middle class both presumably aspired, but also ones specifically designed through the vision of the admakers.

CONCLUSION

Like popular literature, movies, and other well-attended amusements, the concept of formula is implicit in the nature of advertising. Both are repetitive and imitative in their attempt to ensure commercial success. There may be more other important archetypes of emotive selling arguments characteristic of the 1920s, but it does seem to provide some general classes into which we can loosely differentiate the most common emotive-based selling arguments. Unfortunately, to treat with some complexity the other particular formulas of the age would exceed reasonable limits of this paper. Therefore I had chosen to concentrate on certain key formulas embodied mainly by the archetypes of the first impression, romance, and emulation formulas.

The wide array of soap advertisements from this period certainly illustrate this vital function

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of formula, predictable sameness. As copy began to deal with the consumer experience with appeals to fear, sex, and emulation, familiar conventions appeared fully developed in the campaigns of Lifebuoy, Woodbury's Facial, and Lux Toilet soaps. Advertisements featured authority figures to give directions on the most mundane aspects of everyday life; other ads implied that domestic disasters could be adverted by simply using the friendly advertiser's products, and some simply told the consumer what they could do with the product. Still others provided a foundation of security within which audiences could safely give themselves over to the exciting, titillating symbols of romance with the assurance that we would ultimately find enduring love.

These popular advertising formulas, however, were not merely a projection of beliefs and values onto society, rather, they drew legitimacy from dominant cultural myths, beliefs, and values in America. For example, bodies and hygiene formed a major part of class differentiation in American society during the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Smell, appearance, or cleanliness were habitually cited as markers of a society's relative cultural "elevation" and character, while "dirty" races and their practices were frequently cited as one of the primary sources of dirt, disease, and pollution. America's "unwashed" were the millions of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who recently arrived from peasant lands, especially those who passed a season without a bath. Messages in advertisements, however, implicity invoked middle-class whites as living examples of true cleanliness to be observed and imitated.

Yet do we sneer at people who wear a faded frock? If our hostess has a blackhead on her nose, do we gain pleasure by drawing attention to it? Do we delight in making people feel self-conscious and out of things? So prevalent was a "class atmosphere" in these social scenes that a historian relying exclusively on the advertisements could only conclude that most Americans of the 1920s were white, upper-middle class people who enjoyed an exceedingly affluent, leisured mode of life. Clearly the scenarios were exaggerated, yet they drew much of their persuasive power from constructing the readers' perception that the first impression made a crucial difference.

What is key here is that the first impression, romance, and emulation formulaic approaches refer to scenes sufficiently stereotypical to bring immediate audience recognition, what is called a

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contemporary "slice-of-life" setting rather than a work of art or legendary scene. Interestingly, these social scenes were not entirely unrepresentative of the period. Although the ads reflected only a very narrow stratum of society, they also presented an ideal modern life, one to which young working girls and those readers in the upper-middle class both presumably aspired; but also one specifically defined through the eyes of the creative elite. One of the most important effects of using the advertised products, many ads suggested, was the self-confidence in the consumer it created -- a value that had become popular in the early twentieth-century.

People had defined success as largely the consequence of appearance, sociability, and material goods in the mobile, urban society. By the 1920s, however, people increasingly conceived of the details of their personal grooming and that of their home as an index of their true character. In The Lonely Crowd (1961), David Riesman traced a shift from "inner" to "other-direction" as Americans participated in the age of consumption by making the approval of others the end-all of their existence.[78] In another classic study, Warren Susman demarked the emergence of this twentieth-century character type that stressed pleasing others as a "culture of personality."[79] One means of communicating these values became national advertising, which stressed the importance of appearance and pleasing others. In classrooms, as well as in advertising copy, people were taught that good grooming and sociability were important in the business world. Moreover, the burden of the day-to-day responsibilities associated with a clean and comfortable home fell on the housewives. To neglect cleanliness was to court disaster.

The point for our purposes is that these formulaic advertisements also served as prescriptions of how men and women should perceive themselves and thereby fulfill their proper social roles. Thus, the decade of the 1920s not only served as the formative stage for advertising, it may also have served as the formative stage for the development of a culture of cleanliness. Advertisements for soap in mass-circulation magazines showed people how to cleanse themselves in order to become part of the sweatless, odorless, and successful middle-class. Admakers had made washing, bathing, and laundering seem easy and rewarding, while promoting cleanliness as

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a value for everyone.

Today advertising continues to play an ever greater role in creating and fueling desires that both reflect and shape American life -- desires that are a driving force in a capitalist economy. If everyday media images and words pitch desire, advertisements may well be the closest representation of the desires of our time. Future study of advertising history might well take John G. Cawelti's general theory for analysis of popular literary formulas as a flexible and useful model to describe the most important characteristics of the content of advertisements as revelatory of not only our past but contemporary beliefs and needs. The process of identifying formulaic patterns in ads opens up territories of thought about how the culture within this advertisement and its advertised product are positioned. Advertising invites this kind of aesthetic analysis, and perhaps then will advertising achieve the respectability of a historical artifact that it so clearly deserves.

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NOTES

1. Printers' Ink Fifty Years, (New York, 1938): 174-75.

2. John G. Cawelti, Adventure, Mystery, and Romance (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1976): 5-6.

3. Stephen Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History of Advertising and Its Creators (Vintage, 1983): 25.

4. "parables": Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920-1940 (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1985): 206-236; "icons": Marchand, 235-284; and "patterns": Marchand, xx.

5. For a view on how advertising changed see Marchand Advertising the American Dream; Fox The Mirror Makers; Charles Goodrum and Helen Dalyrymple, 200 Years of American Advertising (New York: Abrams, 1990), and Juliann Sivulka, Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1998).

6. "soft-sell" and "hard-sell": Fox, 25. "parables" and "icons": Roland Marchand, 206-234.

7. Marchand, 235.

8. Jack Nachbar and Kevin Lause, Popular Culture: An Introductory Text (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling State Univ. Popular Press, 1992): 417.

9. "Two Women at the Counter," Ladies' Home Journal (May 1929): 35.

10. K. Fishburn, Women in Popular Culture: A Reference Guide (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982): 163.

11. Printers' Ink (11 Aug 1927): 40.

12. Mrs. Christine Frederick, Selling Mrs. Consumer (New York: Business Bourse, 1929): 21.

13. Marchand, 33. Here Marchand references Who's Who in Advertising (1931) and notes that the directory had included sketches of only 126 women in a volume that gave profiles of 5000 advertising men.

14. Goodrum, 38.

15. "How it was in Advertising: 1776-1976," (Chicago, IL: Crain Books, 1976): 31.

16. Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and Promises of Consumer Culture (New York: Routledge, 1995): 225.

17. National Markets and National Advertising (New York: Crowell, 1929): 9.

18. Marchand, 52.

19. Marchand, 52-61.

20. True Story, advertisement, Printers' Ink (20 May 1926): 35.

21. Roland Marchand refers to this form as "Parable of the First Impression" in Marchand, 208-217.

22. "Scare copy'": Printers' Ink Fifty Years, 362. "Whisper copy:" Fox, 329. Copywriter

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Milton Feasley coined the term "whisper copy," referring to a series of ads for Listerine that used advertising by fear.

23. Listerine, advertisement, Cosmopolitan (Nov 1921).

24. Vincent Vinikas, Soft Soap, Hard Sell: Advertising in the Age of Advertisement (Ames, IA: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1992): 33.

25. Printers' Ink (9 Dec 1926): 6.

26. Report of Third Lifebuoy Consumer Investigation" (Nov 1919): 7, reel 197, J. Walter Thompson Company Archives, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina (JWT).

27. "Mothers": "The Kind of Bath That Just Tops Off a Holiday," advertisement (1923); "Train": "The Danger in Dirt," advertisement (1923); and "Get through the winter without a cold!" advertisement (1925), reel 197, JWT.

28. "Let Daddy Wash Up," advertisement (1926), reel 197, JWT.

29. Marchand, 13.

30. Woodbury's Facial Soap, advertisements, Ladies Home Journal. "Personal daintiness" and "Nothing has more" (Dec 1922): 45. "His unspoken thoughts" (Sep 1921): 51; "All around you" (Dec 1922): 45.

31. Harold Ernest Burtt, Psychology of Advertising (New York: Houghton, 1938): 71.

32. Marchand, 52-61.

33. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punishment (New York: Pantheon, 1979).

34. Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980): 97.

35. "25,000" and "Woodbury's Facial Soap" (n/d), Account Files, box 1, Andrew Jergens Company, Account Histories 1946-1950, JWT. "appropriation": Andrew Jergens Company -- Woodbury's Facial Soap (12 Apr 1926): 1, Account Files, box 1, Andrew Jergens Company, Account Histories 1916-1926, JWT.

36. Woodbury's Facial Soap" (12 Apr 1926): 2.

37. Woodbury's Facial Soap" (12 Apr 1926): 2.

38. Woodbury's Facial Soap" (12 Apr 1926): 2.

39. "The phrase sings itself," Atlantic (Oct 1919).

40. Quoted in Fox, 81.

41. Sivulka, 112.

42. JWT News Bulletin (Apr 1923): 12-13.

43. "Woodbury's Facial Soap National Campaign 1926": 7, Account Files, box 1, Andrew Jergens Company, Account Histories 1916-1926. See also "Woodbury's Facial Soap" (n/d), Account Files, box 1, Andrew Jergens Company, Account Histories 1946-1950, JWT.

44. Cathy Piess Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture (New York: Owl Books, 1998): 122.

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45. "The Story of Woodbury's Facial Soap" (Jan-Feb 1930): 5, JWT Account Files, box 1, folder: Andrew Jergens Company 1930, JWT.

46. On advertising women in the JWT Women's Editorial Department, see: Scanlon, 197-228.

47. "Women in Advertising," advertisement, Printers' Ink (23 Aug 1917): 8-9.

48. J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin (Apr 1929): 3.

49. Printers' Ink (11 Apr 1929): 115.

50. J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin (Apr 1929): 3.

51. J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin (Apr 1929): 5.

52. J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin (Apr 1929): 6.

53. "History of Lux Toilet Soap 1925-1951," Account files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1957, JWT.

54. "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 8, Account Files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1927, JWT.

55. "Account Histories: Lever Brothers -- Lux Toilet Form (30 Jan 1926): 2, Information Center Records, box 3, folder: Lux Case History 1923-1973. For value for the money, also see 1919 market study on Lifebuoy, it reported women in homes of skilled industrial workers, unskilled laborers, or foreign districts either considered "toilet soap a luxury, and used laundry soap for all purposes." Report on New York Office Investigation for Floating Lifebuoy Soap," (Sep 1919), Memorandum for Tables 65 and 66, reel 197, JWT.

56. "History of Lux Toilet Soap 1925-1951" : 3, Account Files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1957, JWT.

57. A.F. Countway, Lever Brothers Company, correspondence (27 Jan 1925), Information Center Records, box 3, folder: Lux Case History 1923-1973, JWT.

58. "Lever Brothers Company Account History": 4, Information Center Records, box 3, folder: Lux Case History 1923-1979, JWT.

59. "Lux Toilet Soap": 1, Account Files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1927, JWT.

60. "Please" and "So Captivating" (1925), "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 8; "Made as women asked" (1925), Domestic Advertisements, Lever Brothers, box 2, JWT.

61. "History of Lux Toilet Soap 1925-1951": 5, Account Files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1957, JWT.

62. "It has captivated" (1925) and "My entire family" (1925): "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 8, Account Files, box 12, folder: Lever Brothers Account History 1925-1927, JWT.

63. "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 1.

64. Creative Staff meeting minutes (24 May 1932): 7-8, Information Center Records, box 3: folder: Lever Brothers 1916-1959, JWT.

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65. "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950).

66. Esty on drawings and photography, see Representatives' Meetings (19 Sep 1928): 1; and Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representative Meetings, box 1, JWT.

67. Representatives' meeting (9 Apr 1928): 7, Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representatives, box 2, JWT.

68. Representatives' meeting (9 Apr 1928): 6, Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representative Minutes, box 1, JWT. See also "Danny Danker": Advertising Age (10 Jul 1944) and (7 Dec 1964).

69. "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 12.

70. "Sales doubled": "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 1, JWT.

71. "The Story of Woodbury's Facial Soap" (1930): 7, Account Files, box 1, Andrew Jergens Company. See also Representatives' meeting (28 Feb 1928): 1-2; Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representatives, box 1, JWT.

72. Palmolive, advertisements, Ladies Home Journal (May 1929): 34; (Jul 1929): 42; and (Aug. 1929): 17.

73. Representatives' meeting (19 Sep 1928): 1, Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representative Minutes, box 1, JWT.

74. Representatives' meeting (19 Sep 1928): 2, Staff Meetings 1927-1929, Minutes of Representative Minutes, box 1, JWT.

75. Creative Staff meeting minutes (24 May 1932): 4; Information Center Records, box 3: folder: Lever Brothers 1916-1959, JWT.

76. On the campaign continued for 25 years, "Lux Toilet Soap First 25 years ago," Lever Standard (1950): 12-13. Stars' advice illustrated such ideas as how to be alluring in your 30s and 40s, the importance of proper make-up removal, how to pass the "Close-up Test," and close-up still of "Lux Girls."

77. Fox 89.

78. David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1961).

79. Warren Susman, "Personality and the Making of Twentieth Culture," New Directions in American Intellectual History, eds. John Highman and Paul K. Conkin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkin's Univ. Press, 1979): 212, 221-222.

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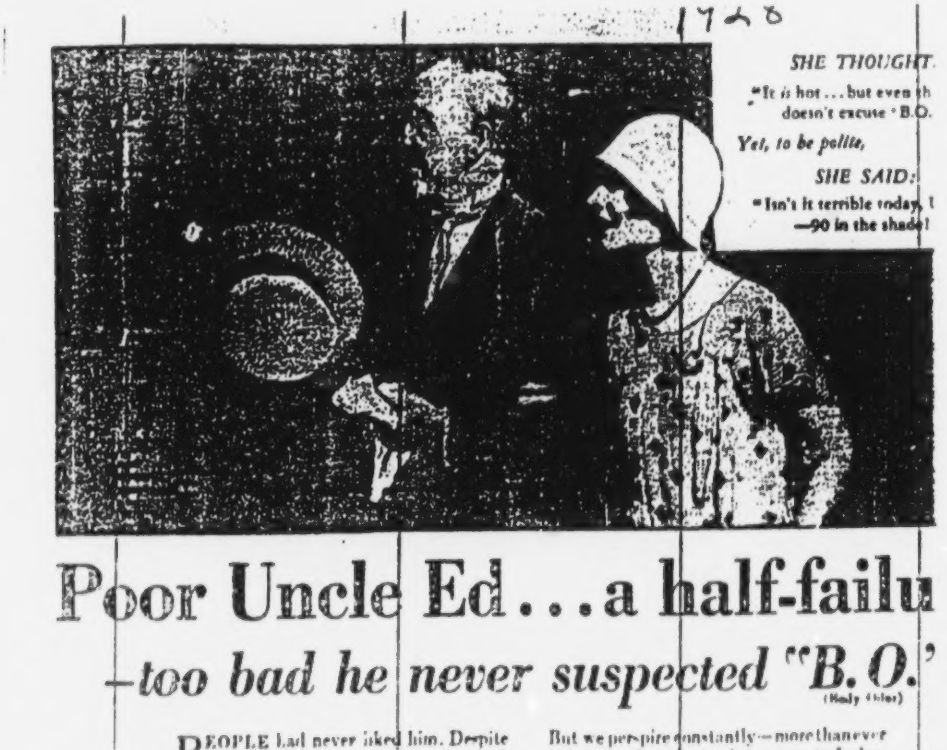
Figure 1. This 1928 ad makes the point that the insidious thing about B.O. (body odor) is that even closest friends won't tell you.



1928

SHE THOUGHT

"It *is* hot . . . but even th
doesn't excuse "B.O.

Yet, to be polite,

SHE SAID:

"Isn't it terrible today, I
—90 in the shade!

Poor Uncle Ed . . . a half-failu

—too bad he never suspected "B.O."

(Body Odor)

PEOPLE had never liked him. Despite his geniality, even men had denied him friendship. For all his ability, real success had always evaded him.

Now he was past middle age — a lonely man—unpopular, just a half-way success—and all for the same unpardonable failing—"B.O." *Body Odor.*

Odorless perspiration —
even in hot weather

Isn't it too bad that the offender is always *last*—when he should be *first* to suspect "B.O."?

We're fooled, doctors say, because we become insensitive to ever-present odors. But we perspire constantly—more than ever in hot weather. As much as a quart of odor-causing waste is given off by pores daily.

Why take chances when it's so pleasant, so easy to keep safe? Just use the favorite bath soap of millions—Lifebuoy. Its mild antiseptic lather deeply purifies. You'll notice the glorious new sense of cleanness it gives—the marvelous freshness that lasts for hours, with never a hint of "B.O."

Note, too, how fresh and clear Lifebuoy keeps complexions. Remember, it guards health—by removing germs. You'll love Lifebuoy's pleasant, *extra-clean* scent that tells you it purifies, yet quickly vanishes as you rinse. Adopt Lifebuoy today.

LEVER BROTHERS CO., *Cambridge, Mass.*

New!

LIFEBUOY
SHAVING CREAM
ends tenderface

At your druggist's

Lifebuoy HEAL
SOA

stops body odor

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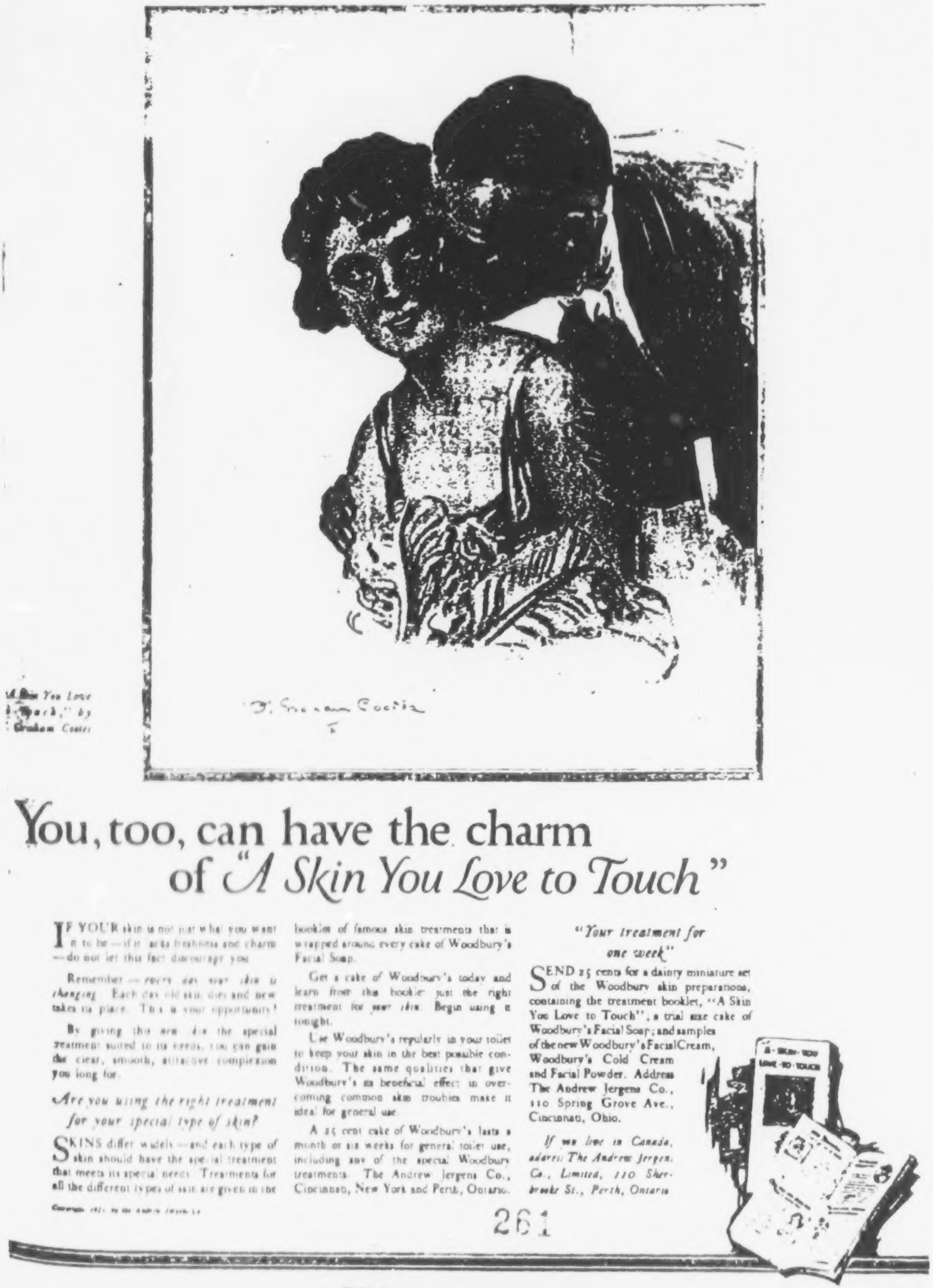
Figure 2. This 1921 ad for Woodbury's Facial Soap embodied the basic beauty appeal in the slogan, and at the time, slightly racey, "A Skin You Love to Touch."



"A Skin You Love to Touch," by Graham Cootes

You, too, can have the charm of "A Skin You Love to Touch"

IF YOUR skin is not just what you want it to be—if it lacks freshness and charm—do not let this fact discourage you.

Remember—*every day your skin is changing*. Each day old skin dies and new takes its place. This is your opportunity!

By giving this new skin the special treatment suited to its needs, you can gain the clear, smooth, attractive complexion you long for.

Are you using the right treatment for your special type of skin?

SKINS differ widely—and each type of skin should have the special treatment that meets its special needs. Treatments for all the different types of skin are given in the booklet of famous skin treatments that is wrapped around every cake of Woodbury's Facial Soap.

Get a cake of Woodbury's today and learn from this booklet just the right treatment for *your skin*. Begin using it tonight.

Use Woodbury's regularly in your toilet to keep your skin in the best possible condition. The same qualities that give Woodbury's its beneficial effect in overcoming common skin troubles make it ideal for general use.

A 25 cent cake of Woodbury's lasts a month or six weeks for general toilet use, including any of the special Woodbury treatments. The Andrew Jergens Co., Cincinnati, New York and Perth, Ontario.

Copyright 1921 by the Andrew Jergens Co.

"Your treatment for one week"

SEND 25 cents for a dainty miniature set of the Woodbury skin preparations, containing the treatment booklet, "A Skin You Love to Touch"; a trial size cake of Woodbury's Facial Soap; and samples of the new Woodbury's Facial Cream, Woodbury's Cold Cream and Facial Powder. Address The Andrew Jergens Co., 110 Spring Grove Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.

If you live in Canada, address The Andrew Jergens Co., Limited, 110 Sherbrooke St., Perth, Ontario

261

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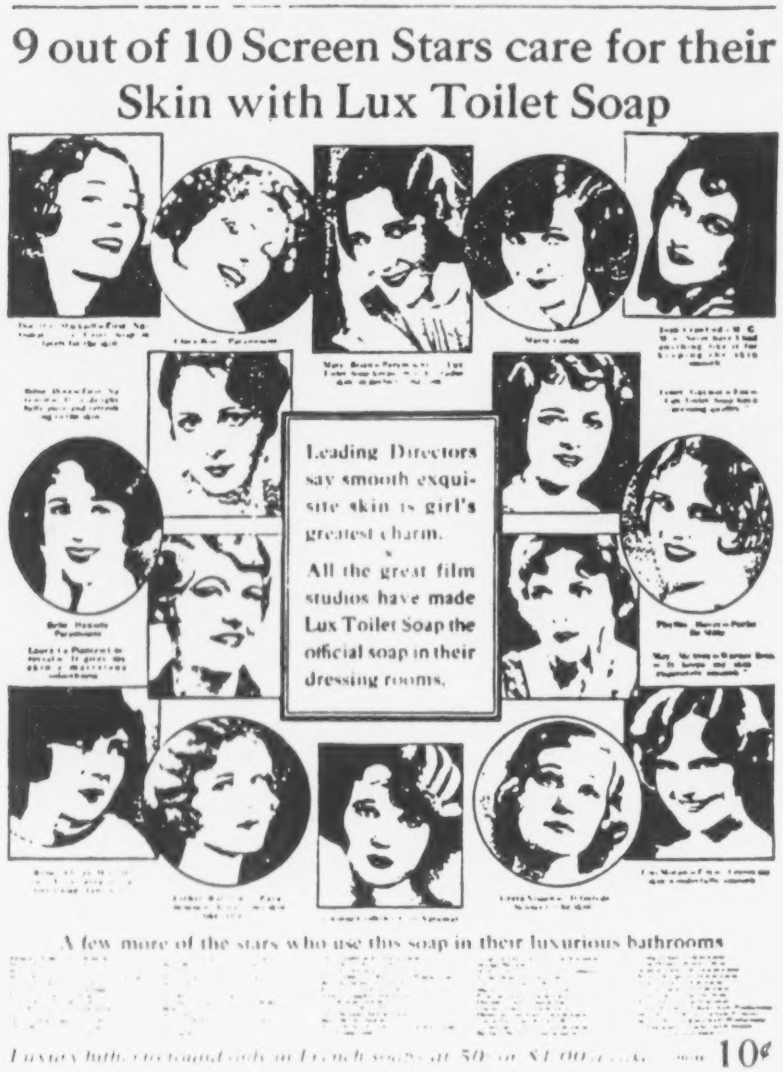
Figure 3. In this 1927 testimonial, the actresses did not always speak the words attributed to them, nevertheless such testimonials proved highly successful.



9 out of 10 Screen Stars care for their Skin with Lux Toilet Soap

Leading Directors say smooth exquisite skin is girl's greatest charm.

All the great film studios have made Lux Toilet Soap the official soap in their dressing rooms.

A few more of the stars who use this soap in their luxurious bathrooms

Luxury hitherto found only in French soaps at 50¢ or $1.00 a cake . . . now 10¢

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History

WHAT IS A FISH AMONG FRIENDS?

Victorian Editorial Cartoonists Mock A Two Century Old Border Dispute.

DAVID R.SPENCER
UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO

ABSTRACT

From almost the beginning Canada and the United States have enjoyed friendly international relations. However, among all good friends disputes arise. One, over fishing rights in the waters shared by these two nations, has been continuous since 1783. These disputes impacted on both nations as they tried to find their respective places in North America during the turbulent and expansive 19th century. Canadian-American relationships dominated the pages of Canada's newest press, the literary and humour magazines. These journals attracted a new breed of journalist, the editorial cartoonist who used pen and picture to pillory Americans' treasured symbols. Using the fisheries dispute as a linch-pin, this in part is their story.

If one were to believe all the contemporary rhetoric that has passed over the 49th parallel in both directions in recent years, Canada and the United States have never hurled a word in anger at each other. Of course, there have been those "minor little irritations" such as differences of opinion over split-run magazines and protectionist cultural policies in Canada. But, when the chips were down, Canadians and Americans rallied together to fight the evil fascist, curb the territorial communist and wear down the dogmatic white supremacist and determined religious fanatic. Now along with Mexico, they have joined together to build what they all hope will be the most powerful free trade zone in the modern world.

But relations between the two largest occupants of the North American continent have not always been this warm. In fact, when it comes to fish, communications between the two would-be friends become outright hostile. In 1993, eight years after the two nations failed to reach an agreement to renew salmon fishing rights on the west coast, the collapse of the talks plummeted both nations, and in particular the U.S. states of Alaska and Washington and the Canadian province of British Columbia, into a state of near warfare. In July of 1997, the Alaskan ferry Malaspina was prevented from leaving Prince Rupert harbour in North British Columbia for three days by angry Canadian salmon fishermen. It was only one in a string of incidents in which ships were seized, crews arrested and cargoes confiscated. [1] Unfortunately, these latest incidents are only the latest in a long string of confrontations which began with the American War of Independence.

Although these aggravations have been far from humourous in real life, they became the subject of a reasonably polite satire at the hands of a number of cartoonists as Canada entered the satirical magazine age on New Year's Day 1849. The event was the launching in Montreal of *Punch in Canada* by J. B. Walker, an 18 year old engraver and wood carver who had emigrated from Ireland with his father in 1842. At its peak, the journal claimed a circulation of 3,000 per issue.[2] Walker did not attempt to hide the fact that his journal was little more than a colonial imitation of the British publication *Punch-The London Charivari* which first saw the light of day in 1841. The British journal established the line drawing which evolved into the satirical political cartoon as a major vehicle for interpreting the political and social events of the day and of course poking fun at them. Walker would soon be followed by others who would make the United States and its symbolic Brother Jonathan a.k.a. Uncle Sam the subject of visual derision in the Canadian media.

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[1] Calgary, Alberta, The Herald, 22 July, 1997
London, Ontario, The Free Press, 24 February 1999
Toronto, Ontario, The Globe and Mail, 24 February 1999

Pillorying the very symbol of American liberalism and republicanism was as natural to a true and very blue early Victorian Canadian as breathing. Although a significant number of Canadians, at least those with English as a mother tongue, shared a heritage in the same European soil as their American counterparts, the border between Canada and the United States was one of ideology as much as geography. Along with *les habitants* who chose to remain on the shores of the St. Lawrence after the British conquest, the country was populated initially by the outcasts of the American War of Independence. Rather than return to Britain where few of them had any future prospects, they accepted land grants in what is now southern New Brunswick, the Eastern Townships of Quebec and in Ontario along the north shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie. In U.S. parlance, they were Tories. In their own minds, they were United Empire Loyalists.[3] They were primarily Anglicans in religious persuasion and they became the founders of Canada's first conservative party.[4]

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[2] Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonists' History of Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979), p. 40

As political scientist Gad Horowitz wrote thirty years ago:

> (*In true Toryism)* The good of the individual is not conceivable apart for the good of the whole, determined by a 'natural' elite consulting a sacred tradition. Canadian conservatives have something British about them ...It is not simply their emphasis on loyalty to the crown and to the British connection, but a touch of the authentic tory aura--traditionalism, elitism, the strong state and so on.[5]

An early student of Loyalist history, one Miss Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon concurred:

> The Loyalists of Canada, among whom there were several American Loyalists who had emigrated to this country during the War of Independence and following years, exasperated by the horrors of the war and also by the vehement tone of some American writers, were reciprocally aggressive in their writings. Some of them retorted violently to such of the American publications "written for show, designed for sale, and, to this end, pandering to the worst passions of a morbid nationality." [6]

It wasn't enough to draw degrading parodies of American institutions. Canadian journals long after the end of the War of Independence continued to publish articles questioning some of the most familiar symbols of American life. At the turn of the twentieth century, this was still in vogue. The Montreal magazine *North American Notes and Queries* published an article in which it stated the popular American rhyme *Yankee Doodle* was in fact not American at all but British. The anonymous author argued that the original rhyme was known as *Fisher's Jig*. It was a popular English past-time to add new verses to already popular tunes, some of which were composed by unmarried, close female companions of Charles The First. The two apparently lent their names to a four line nursery rhyme that was still being sung in 1900 to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*.

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[3] J. A. H. Leeds, *An Old U.E. Loyalist--A Story of the Early Settlement of Canada* in The New Dominion Monthly, Vol. II, April, 1868, p. 27

[4] Goldwin Smith, *The Political Destiny of Canada,* (Toronto, Ontario: Willing and Williamson, 1878), pp. 29-30

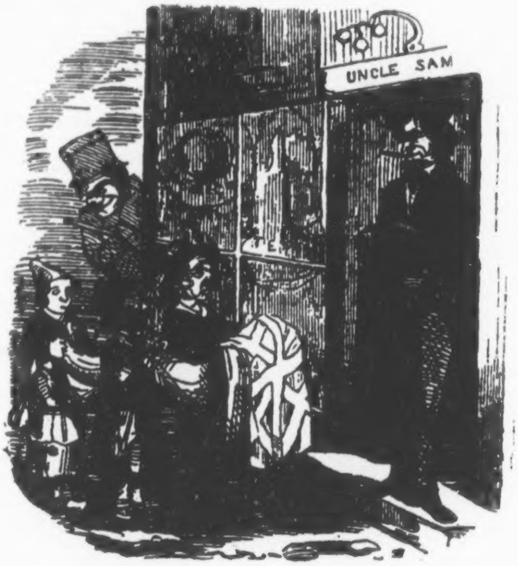
[5] Gad Horowitz, *Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada, An Interpretation,* in Hugh Thorburn (ed.), Party Politics In Canada, (Toronto, Ontario: Prentice Hall, 1985), p. 48

[6] Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, *The Study of Canadian History* in Raoul Renault, North American Notes and Queries, Montreal, Vol. 1, No. 7, January 1901, p. 203

> Lucy Locket lost per pocket,
> Kitty Fisher found it.
> Northing in it, nothing on it,
> But the binding round it.[7]

Compared to Charles, it could be contended that Lucy Locket's loss was insignificant.

The vilification of things American naturally appeared in editorial cartoons as pictured in this drawing by J.B. Walker from *Punch In Canada*. Uncle Sam, cigar in mouth, is standing in the door of a pawn shop looking very much like the cartoon character Snidely Whiplash. It would appear that he is prepared to accept the offer of a British flag from Little Ben Holmes and his crew of children. The shop already contains souvenirs of Uncle Sam's adventures in Mexico and Texas. Britain would be a prize indeed.



LITTLE BEN HOLMES AND SOME NAUGHTY CHILDREN ATTEMPT TO PAWN THEIR MOTHER'S POCKET-HANDKERCHIEF, BUT ARE ARRESTED BY POLICEMAN PUNCH, WHO WAS STATIONED "ROUND THE CORNER."

Punch In Canada, 20 October, 1849

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[7] Renault, Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1900, p. 53

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Pawn brokering in the mid years of the Victorian Age was not a business one entered with the enhancement of one's reputation in mind. In fact, the business was normally left to those who could not participate in society in more socially acceptable pursuits. The business was associated with the dirty craft of money lending with strong racial overtones as William Shakespeare graphically pointed out in *The Merchant of Venice*. As Hollywood depicted some four centuries later in the film starring Rod Steiger as *The Pawnbroker*, such disreputable activities often created hardened stereotypes on the backs of those unable to pursue any other avenue for making a living.

Walker's cartoons set the tone for the Victorian portrayal of Brother Jonathan/Uncle Sam. As we will see throughout this study, this symbol of Americanism appears as a sinister, conniving character with only malevolence in mind. Walker strongly opposed establishing closer ties with the United States, fearing it would lead to a take over of Canada, which incidentally was a real possibility when this cartoon was drawn. However, to come to grips with the anti-American sentiment that invaded the easels of Canada's cartoonists during this period, we must return to an international treaty signed in Paris in 1783.

Although political cartooning is believed to have commenced with Benjamin Franklin's woodcut *Join or Die*, there were no known sketch artists around to lampoon the events of 1783 of whom we are aware. It wasn't until 1822 with the invention of lithography and the issuing in 1838 of Canadian Napoleon Sarony's book of political humour *A Vision of Judgement* that journalists began to explore the potential of this new satirical expression. In fact, newspapers did not take up cartooning until 1839 and they remained aloof until 1867 when the *New York Evening Telegram* began to carry a front-page cartoon every Friday. It remained for magazines such as *Frank Leslie's*

Illustrated Newspaper, *Harper's Weekly* and *Vanity Fair* to promote and use the genre.[8] As much as the satirists of pen and ink missed the first two great Canadian-American battles, they made up for it as the century progressed.

The American War of Independence officially ended on the third of September 1783 when the Treaty of Paris was signed. Britain did not abandon North America but remained north of the Great Lakes and north of the forty-ninth parallel. The two old adversaries faced each other across a continent consisting primarily of unspoiled wilderness. Almost reluctantly, they agreed that co-operation was a superior form of political intercourse far preferable to war fare and violence. And, one of the major issues that needed to be settled was "who had the right to fish where?".

Article III of the Treaty of Paris spoke directly to the fishing issue. American fishermen were given the right to access the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, a large water system in the Atlantic Ocean off the eastern coast of the island (see map). The Grand Banks had attracted fishing vessels from as far away as Spain and Portugal for two centuries before the Treaty of Paris was signed. Numerous Europeans came in search of the bountiful cod schools known to populate the area. Since the Grand Banks were well beyond the three mile limit, there was little Britain could do to stop Americans in search of fish.

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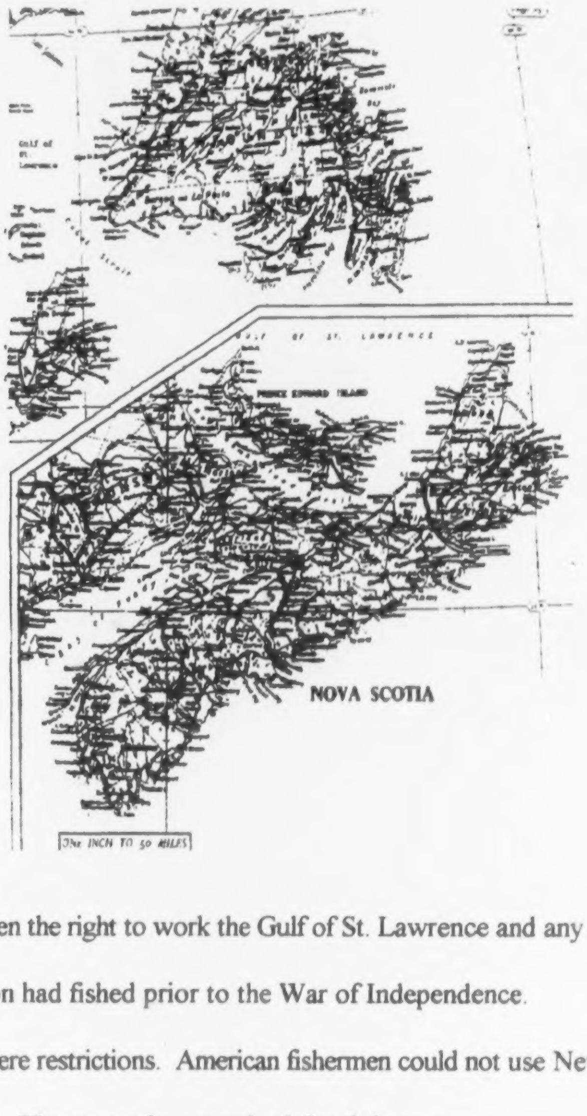
[8] Desbarats and Mosher, p. 30



U.S. vessels were also given the right to work the Gulf of St. Lawrence and any other territory where the colonists as one nation had fished prior to the War of Independence.

However, there were restrictions. American fishermen could not use Newfoundland as a base to dry or cure their catch. However, they acquired the right to use

> "any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands (*west of Newfoundland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence)* and Labrador (*North of Newfoundland bordering on Quebec)* so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such a settlement without a previous agreement

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for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessor of the ground.[9]

In legal terms, the Treaty of Paris was not an agreement between Canada and the United States. It was an agreement with Great Britain. In 1783 Canada did not exist. Britain's holdings consisted of Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, New Brunswick, Lower Canada and Upper Canada. The vast region known as the North West Territories between what eventually became British Columbia and what is now Manitoba was chartered by Royal Decree to the Hudson's Bay Company who had exclusive hunting and fishing rights there. All these colonies were administered through various branches of the British Colonial Office. In fact Canada did not free herself from the British yoke until the Statute of Westminster of 1931 finally conferred full independence on the country.

With the Treaty of Paris, Canada was bound with the first of 28 treaties negotiated by Great Britain that directly impacted on the yet to be formed Canadian state. Ironically, it was another treaty dealing with fish, the 1923 Halibut Treaty that finally gave Canada the power to negotiate contracts without British interference. As one Irish editor noted, Canada could finally "sign her own cheques."[10] Nonetheless, the Treaty of Paris marked what law Professor Maxwell Cohen has described as the first of "five periods of development in the relations of Canada to the United States which reflect themselves in the particular character of the treaties found in this period." Cohen has referred to the years between 1783 and 1870 as a "Period of Adjustment" in which the newly emerging United States of America had to come to grips with the fact that a British presence remained in North America and it was determined to stay there. Cohen argues that the American adjustment to this reality was "psychological, military, territorial, and economic..." It was a period when both stakeholders were demanding an answer to the question "who gets what?" Cohen also notes that when the issues surrounding the sale of the battleship *Alabama* to the Confederacy by Britain and the subsequent claims for damage by the United States were settled in the 1870s, Canada and the United States entered its second phase which he calls the "Period of Continental Stabilization." In Cohen's analysis, the two nations took the final steps in the slow of often torturous road to a mature and civilized relationship. [11]

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[9] CIHM 10010, *Documents and Proceedings of the Halifax Commission, 1877, Volume 1, under the Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871*, p. 78

[10] Robert R. Wilson, *Canada-United States Treaty Relations and International Law* in David R. Deener (ed.), Canada-United States Treaty Relations (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963), pp. 4-5, 12

Civility was not always the hallmark of north-south dialogues. War intervened on at least three occasions, the second of which broke out in 1812. Our aforementioned historian Miss Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon[12] solemnly declared that the War of 1812 was planned by Napoleon who found a willing ally in the United States who was to keep the British occupied in the North American colonies while the French emperor frolicked over the European landscape. For the second time in history, American military personnel entered what was to become Canadian territory. Canadian cities, in particular the capital of Upper Canada at York (now Toronto) were sacked by American regulars. However, with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, Britain turned her attention to her colonies. Hostilities were ceased and the Treaty of Ghent was signed on the 24th of December,

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[11] Maxwell Cohen, *Trends and Future Problems* in Deener, p. 187

[12] Fitzgibbon, p. 202

1814.[13]

For the first time in the long history of Canada, the United States and Great Britain, fish proved to be a substantial obstacle to peace at the treaty table. The Americans argued that the original agreement of 1783 was still in force. The British argued that the declaration of war on the United Kingdom abrogated the clauses of the Treaty of Paris. When it became apparent to the American negotiators that hostile behaviour can produce some unforeseen and unacceptable results, they requested that the British re-incorporate the clauses of 1783 in the new treaty. The British refused, a stalemate resulted, broken only when both parties agreed that disputes over fishing were unlikely to be resolved.[14]

Issues beyond the bounds of the fishery impasse were not by themselves that critical that they could not be resolved. At stake was the question of varying degrees of free trade which Canadian politicians began to actively promote following the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. From 1816 onward, the British legation in Washington approached American presidents from Monroe to Fillmore to try to cut a deal. The pleas fell on deaf ears. Canadian officials retaliated by placing heavy taxes on U.S. imports into Canada while admitting British goods tariff free. To further irk America, Britain agreed to admit Canadian staples such as wheat and lumber into the United Kingdom as preferential goods. Fish began a bargaining tool in the ever increasing tension.[15]

With renewed hostilities a potential threat, the President of the United States called upon the

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[13] Donald Creighton, *The Story of Canada*, (London, U.K.: Faber and Faber, 1959), pp. 108-109

[14] CIHM 10010, p. 79

[15] CIHM 00013, Continental Union Association of Ontario: A Short Study of its economic side, Toronto 1893, pp. 29-30

Prince Regent of Britain and asked for a convention to discuss the fishing issue. The result was the Convention of 1818 which established the ground rules for fishing relationships until 1888. The treaty restricted American activity to the western perimeters of the Island of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador along with a small strip on the southern coast and rights on the Magdalen Islands. To add insult to injury, British vessels could also travel and fish these waters as well as any others in British North America. However, the Americans could not travel any waters in the North West Territories which also at this point included the Arctic without the permission of the Hudson's Bay Company. For the first time, the treaty established a three mile coastal limit which American fishermen were forbidden to enter. There were some exceptions dealing mainly with the acquisition of supplies or escaping bad weather. However, the old rights to dry and cure fish in uninhabited parts of Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces was restored on the understanding that should those places be inhabited in the future, the activity would have to cease.[16]

When the United States continued to ignore Canadian and British pleas for some form of reciprocity, the British began to use the clauses of the 1818 agreement as a hammer against the Americans. The British followed a "zero tolerance" interpretation of the clauses of the agreement. Complaints from Canadian sources continued to reiterate that American fishermen were ignoring the provisions of the Convention of 1818. In many cases, the issues evolved around conflicting interpretations of the three mile limit. The Americans argued that the limit line should follow the contour of the land while Canadian officials reiterated their stand that it ran along a line drawn from headland to headland. As historian Arthur Harvey noted in 1868

> Urged by self-interest or cupidity, and egged on by their political chiefs, the New

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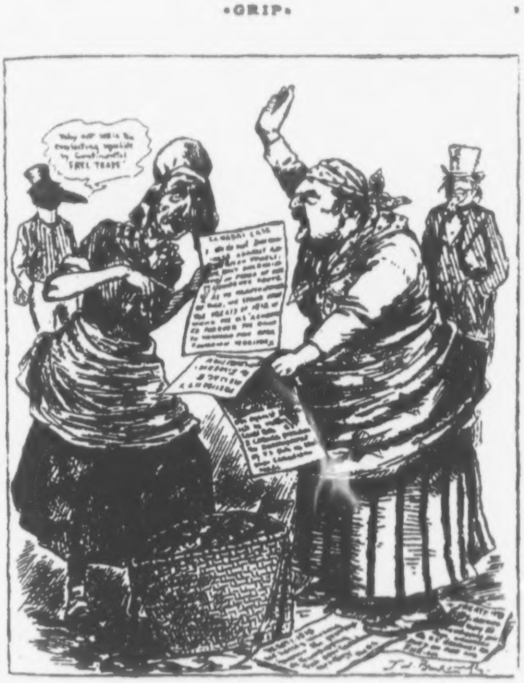
[16] CIHM, 10010, P. 80

> England fishermen persisted, not withstanding, in poaching in our waters. The British Government, therefore maintained war vessels on the coast to warn them off, and the Colonial Government fitted out six swift armed cruisers to maintain their rights.[17]

Although this cartoon appeared in Toronto's *Grip* magazine in 1888 at the height of yet one more Canadian-American fishing dispute, the documents at President Grover Cleveland's feet as he argues with Sir John A. Macdonald, Canada's founding Prime Minister, point to the fact that little had changed since 1818.


•GRIP•
Why not settle the everlasting squabble by Continental FREE TRADE?

THE FISH-WIFE FIGHT RENEWED

Grip, 8 September 1888

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[17] Arthur Harvey, *The American Mackerel Fishery in the Gulf of St. Lawrence* in The New Dominion Monthly, Volume II, April 1868, p. 19

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The ever patient observers are of course Uncle Sam and Grip, the raven mascot of the magazine who was named after the bird in Charles Dickens' Barnaby Rudge to satisfy the obsession that the cartoonist John Wilson Bengough had with the British novelist. Both politicians are holding a long list of grievances against each over a basket of fish, while the agreements of both 1818 and the agreement which was negotiated in 1888 were trampled underfoot.

Although by no means the first, Bengough was Canada's first important political cartoonist. As a young man growing up in a small town just east of Toronto, he had been fascinated by Thomas Nast's salvos at New York political figure Boss Tweed. He read *Harper's Weekly*, took art lessons for a short time and moved to Toronto where he worked for the major Liberal Party newspaper George Brown's *Globe*. But he longed to be the Canadian Nast and in 1873 he launched the Toronto-based satirical magazine *Grip*. Luck was on his side, literally within weeks, when it was discovered that the government of Sir John A. Macdonald was up to its neck in a major railway scandal which cost it its mandate. Bengough rose to fame and some fortune poking fun at the unfortunate Macdonald. He continued with *Grip* for a twenty year period before leaving to freelance in Canada, the United States and Great Britain. Shortly after the turn of the century, Bengough found himself in Chicago satirizing various aspects of municipal and state politics in the page of *The Public*, predecessor to the modern day *New Republic*. He died at his drawing board in Toronto in 1921.[18]

The Convention of 1818 did little to solve the outstanding issues in Canadian-American relations. Yes, there were protocols in place, but both sides began to enforce their own specific interpretations of the clauses. Canada's imperial master, Great Britain, complained throughout the ensuring thirty-six years that the United States continued to violate the spirit as well as letter of the agreement. The Americans continued to refuse to recognize British/Canadian positions on the three-mile limit. Finally in 1845, the colony of Nova Scotia closed all bays with the exception of the large Bay of Fundy which separates New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Reaction in the United States was predictable. Fearing a military response, the Colonial Government asked Britain to send armed naval vessels to the fishing grounds. The Colonial Secretary hedged for a further seven years before dispatching a small, but symbolic fleet to the north Atlantic.[19]

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[18] David R. Spencer, *Bringing Down Giants: Thomas Nast, John wilson Bengough and the Maturing of Political Cartooning*, in American Journalism, Volume 15, No. 3, pp. 61-88

Troubled by the impasse, both sides agreed to attempt to come to a free trade agreement. Talks started in 1847. The negotiations dragged on for two years before the British Government authorized their chief negotiator Sir. W.C. Bulwer to offer the United States access to the fisheries of British North America except those in Newfoundland whose colonial government had refused to accept any compromise. In return, the Americans offered Canada and Britain access to the American market for all natural products including fish, agricultural products and timber. As a pro-annexationist observer argued some twenty years later, the Americans were negotiating from a position of weakness. Alexander Monro had revealed that

> The fisheries of the American States are limited, while those of the Maritime colonies are unparalleled in extent and variety. The States send from six hundred to eight hundred vessels, or an aggregate of about two hundred thousand tons annually into Provincial waters to fish. .. They return to the States with about ten millions of dollars worth of fish; which is nearly half the value of the fish annually caught in these waters.[20]

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[19] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington 1871, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1941), p. 2

[20] CIHM 33839, Alexander Monro, Annexation or Union with the United States is the manifest destiny of British North America, St. John, New Brunswick, Barnes and Company, 1868, p. 17

Monro was not exaggerating. In 1854, just before both parties came to a successful conclusion the Honourable representative from New Hampshire A. Tuck stood up in the House and stated

> ...there are no mackerel left on the shores of the United States; and that fishery cannot be successfully prosecuted without going within three miles of the shore, so that unless we have this privilege the American mackerel fishery will be broken up; and that important nursery for American seamen will be destroyed.[21]

Maxwell Cohen has referred to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 as "a great experiment."[22] It might more appropriately have been called a great miracle. The Americans insisted that the fisheries question had to be included. The British and Canadians stiffly resisted.[23] Its major American supporter President Zachary Taylor had died suddenly in 1850. His successor felt that any agreement should take the form of legislation as opposed to treaty thus placing the clauses at risk in Congress. It was strongly opposed by influential factions on both sides of the border. The stakes were high. A group of influential Montreal financiers and traders openly advocated that Canada join the United States and forget treaties with escape clauses. In the United States, Horace Greeley headed a pressure group that believed that if Canada were denied access to the U.S. market, it would eventually have to negotiate some form of annexation which would not only allow Canadian goods to flow freely south of the border, but would in turn open the fishing groups to American vessels.[24]

Although far more comprehensive than any previous agreement between the United States and Great Britain and her Canadian colonies, the first article paid homage to the role that fishing disputes had played in the success of the treaty negotiations. Recognizing the role of the Convention of 1818, the first Article went on to state

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[21] Harvey, pp. 19-20

[22] Cohen, p. 187

[23] CIHM 10010, p. 81

[24] Toronto, Ontario The Nation, Vol. 1, No. 24, September 10, 1874

> ...the inhabitants of the United States shall have in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish on the sea-coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbors and creeks of Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward's Island, and of the several Islands there unto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore; with permission to land upon the coasts and shores of those Colonies and the Islands thereof and also upon the Magdalen Islands for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish: provided that in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property or British fishermen in the peaceable use of any part of the said coast in their occupancy for the same purpose.[25]

Americans could ship fish into Canada free of tariff. The 12 and one half percent tariff on fish oil which existed in 1854 was removed by 1863.

A decade of relative calm came over the Atlantic fishing grounds. Canadians involved in the production of lumber, livestock and farm produce became wealthy under the agreement. A number of American entrepreneurs entered the Canadian market, and of course as a consequence, obtained limited preference to trade in the Imperial market. However in 1858 and 1859, Sir Alexander Galt, finance minister in the Colonial Government delivered budgets which placed stringent protectionist tariffs on American manufactured goods entering Canada. Powerful industrial interests in the north east corridor fought the tariffs, arguing with some force at home that the action violated the spirit of the Reciprocity Agreement and limited the benefit of the agreement to Canada alone.[26]

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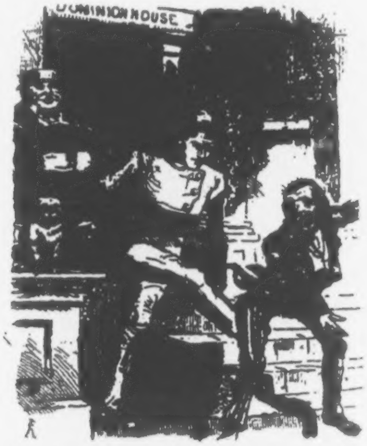
[25] Reciprocity Treaty Between Great Britain and the United States together With Canadian Tariffs for 1854 & 1863, Montreal, P.Q, J. Starke and Company Printers, 1864, pp. 3-4

[26] J. M. S. Careless, Brown Of The Globe, Volume Two, (Toronto, Ontario: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1963), p. 105

In 1865, the United States announced it would honour its right to back out of the agreement on a notice of one year. This it did in 1866. Both nations were thrown back to the Convention of 1818 regarding fishing rights. However, American fishermen had become accustomed to free and unfettered access to Canadian waters. Not anxious to open a new round of hostilities over fishing rights, the Canadian Colonial Government agreed to a system of licensing. When the fee rose from fifty cents to two dollars a ton, many American fishermen refused to pay the price and took their chances with the law. There were convincing arguments that the Colonial Government was losing somewhere between $7,200,000 and $9,000,000 per year in revenues as a result.[27]

Following the uniting of the colonies which created Canada in 1867, the new country banned all American fleets from entering the three mile limit. In January 1870, the Governor-General banned the licensing system.[28] A wave of anti-American feeling became prevalent in the land.



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[27] New Dominion Monthly, Vol. II, April 1868, p. 21

[28] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington, pp. 3-4

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The hostility towards Americans apparent in J.B. Walker's cartoon in the Montreal satire magazine *Grinchuckle* of the 23rd of September, 1869 was to appear with regularity over the next three decades in Canadian publications. His Uncle Sam, scrawny, evil-looking with an unkempt beard, dressed in his super-patriotic garb of the stars and stripes which those of Tory extraction found highly offensive, was being hoofed out of the Dominion (Canada's legal name) by a virile, handsome and muscular young man with the full approval of John Bull, the symbol of British Imperial supremacy. Although few of Walker's successors changed the Uncle Sam character to any significant degree, the United States was also represented in a kinder light on rare occasions by sketches of Miss Columbia. However, the vision of Canada never quite lost its virginal quality in either male or female form. The female Miss Canada, often dressed in flowing white robes, became a more prevalent presence that her male counterpart throughout the remaining years of the nineteenth century..

It quickly became apparent in both the new Dominion of Canada and the United States that continued reliance on the Convention of 1818 was unlikely to provide a productive and friendly set of relations between the two nations. The *New York Times* commented that "the fishery question cannot remain in its present state another year without bloodshed."[29] Not only had the United States canceled the Reciprocity Treaty, its relations with Great Britain were in tatters because of open British support for the Confederacy in the Civil War. The Americans did not help matters by presenting a bill to the House of Representatives in 1866 to admit to the union not only the existing four British colonies but the North West Territories and British Columbia as well.[30]

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[29] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington, p. 7

[30] CIHM 63690 A Bill For The Admission of the States of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East and Canada West and for the Organization of the Territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan and Columbia, July 2, 1866, Section 1, pp. 1-2

The west was drawn into the dispute over ambiguities in the 1846 Treaty of Oregon which defined borders between Canada and the United States on the Pacific Rim. At issue was the dividing line between British Columbia and the State of Washington. Although the treaty defined the border as "the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island", there were in effect two channels. They were separated by San Juan Island which had to be passed to gain entry to the shipping lanes used by both states. This small piece of land had little attraction for potential settlers, but plenty for ambitious military leaders[31]. All parties concerned including Canada knew that approaches had to be made to reduce tensions to forestall any impetus to open hostilities. The Treaty of Washington of 1871 was the result.

The two major actors in the successful attempt to negotiate the treaty were Briton Sir John Rose and American Caleb Cushing. Sensitive to the fact that Britain still had control over Canadian foreign policy and was negotiating a treaty which would impact on the new nation, Rose invited the country's founding Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald to join the negotiations commission. He was well aware of the fact that should the negotiations result in an agreement unpopular in Canada, the blame could be deflected to Macdonald. Rose was well known to the Americans. He had met Cushing when both were parties to an 1863 agreement over payments to The Hudson's Bay Company and the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company. Following the successful conclusion of those talks, Rose and Cushing had tried without success to get the United States and Britain to settle the Alabama claims. When Rose journeyed to Washington to discuss the situation with Ulysses S. Grant, the American President bluntly informed him that the question of the Alabama claims and fishing rights in Canadian waters could not be separated. Rose returned to Britain to advise the government of the situation. On January 8, 1871, he was back in Washington with a mandate to negotiate the whole package.[32]

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[31] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington. pp. 9-10

The treaty produced two significant results. First, the United States and Britain came to the conclusion that they could not settle the Alabama issue by themselves. They agreed to turn the dispute over to an International Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva, Switzerland and live by the results. The British were required to mount a defense against American claims after which the tribunal was to award damages if it saw fit. The second result was more serious. The British sold Macdonald down the river for the express purpose of gaining peace with the Americans. Macdonald watched as his three fellow British negotiators wilted in the face of intense U.S. pressure. In short the treaty stated

> ...the inhabitants of the United States shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII of this Treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the sea-coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbours, and creeks of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Colony of Prince Edward's Island and of the several islands thereto adjacent without being restricted to any distance from the shore with permission to land upon the said coasts and shores and islands and also upon the Magdalen Islands for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish. ...[33]

The agreement excluded salmon and shad. Rivers and river mouths were excluded. The agreement was to last for ten years after which either party could give two years notice of cancellation as outlined in Article XXXIII. In return for what amounted to total surrender, the government of Canada was to receive compensation for these rights, a decision which would have a profound impact and one which would produce yet another nasty confrontation just six years later.[34]

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[32] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington, pp. 88-89

[33] CIHM, 10010, p. 1

The agreement did not escape the attention of Canada's newest illustrated publication, the *Canadian Illustrated News* and its French-language version *L'Opinion Publique*. Launched in 1869, its editor and publisher Georges Edouard Desbarats acquired the services of one Edward Jump as a political satirist and cartoonist. Jump had been born in France in 1831 and emigrated to the United States in 1856. He lived for a while in San Francisco where he designed labels for whisky bottles. In 1868 he worked in Washington where he shared a rooming house with Mark Twain. He met and married a touring French opera star while in Washington. After his marriage, he had become an established portrait painter in the U.S. capital. For reasons unknown, he moved to Montreal in 1871 where for the next two years he worked for the Desbarats publishing house. He left Montreal in 1873 and eventually turned up as an illustrator for Frank Leslie's New York publications. He died in St. Louis.[35]

Jump's initial look at the events surrounding the negotiations which would bring about the Treaty of Washington was one of sympathy. Although the young, virginal image of Canada remained in the picture, the evil Uncle Sam/Brother Jonathan was replaced by the more palatable Miss Columbia. Obviously, Jump favoured a successful conclusion. This cartoon which appeared just after Valentine 's Day 1871, preceded the successful conclusion of the negotiations by slightly under three months.

In his initial examination of the events surrounding the Treaty of Washington, Jump was not prepared to risk offending American sensitivities in a manner reminiscent of his Montreal predecessor

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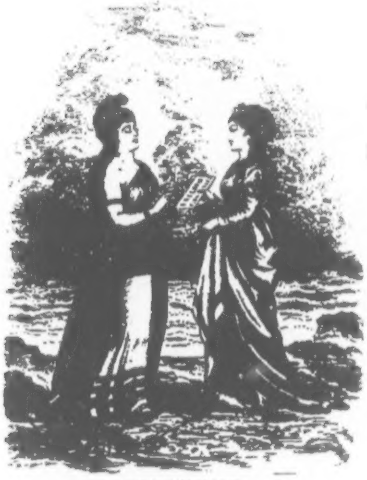
[34] Careless, p. 284

[35] Desbarats and Mosher, p. 44



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Canadian Illustrated News, [illegible] February, [illegible]

Edward Jump may have been enthusiastic about the prospects for success at Washington, but when the actual document was released on the May 1, 1872, there were howls of contempt from numerous segments of Canadian society. Free traders such as the *Globe*'s George Brown declared that Macdonald and the British had failed in their mission by not using the negotiations to get a renewal of reciprocity. Brown, a father of Confederation and founder of the Canadian Liberal Party, was an articulate and effective foe of the Prime Minister. The publisher was more interested in the political ramifications of the treaty than he was the economic ones, although he did not hesitate to forge a temporary coalition with its supporters.

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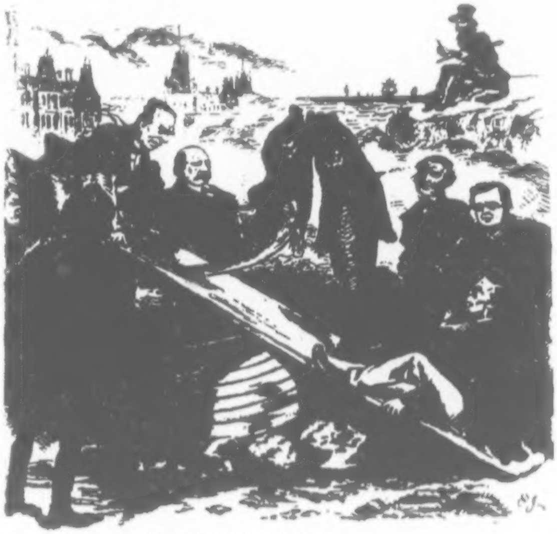
On the surface, it appeared that Canada gained nothing other than this un-defined compensation package. Not only had the Prime Minister failed to get reciprocity on the table, he had been unable to convince the United States to pay for damages caused when Irish rebels based in the United States began to attack Canadian bases in the 1860s. A number of critics also noted that Macdonald had failed to stop the United States from opening the issue of free navigation on Alaskan rivers pouring into Canada.[36]

The outcry failed to die down. One year after Macdonald returned home from Washington, Edward Jump celebrated the first anniversary of the Treaty of Washington with this cartoon. No longer is Miss Columbia at the front and center of Jump's analysis. Our old friend Uncle Sam looks on with glee as federal politicians fight it out over the agreement. The Prime Minister has his back to the reader but looks on as several of his cabinet ministers attempt to dislodge the leader of the Liberal Party Opposition, Alexander Mackenzie from a see-saw which represents the non-ending and inconclusive two sides of the on-going debate over fishing rights. Mackenzie it would appear is not going to be easily dislodged. Uncle Sam, however, would not get the last laugh.



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Canadian Illustrated News, 4 May 1872

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[36] Goldwin Smith, The Treaty of Washington, p. 91

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To satisfy the conditions of the Treaty of Washington, the question of financial compensation for American acquisition of virtually unlimited fishing rights had to be resolved. The treaty had provided for a commission to adjudicate issues such as these. In fact, both the British and the Americans had realized the wisdom of placing contentious items into the hands of parties with no pecuniary or political interest in them as far back as the Treaty of Paris which established the first of many of these joint commissions.

Heading this commission was the Belgian ambassador to the United States, Mr. Maurice Delfosse. The United States selected Ensign H. Kellogg as its representative. Canada countered with Sir Alexander T. Galt, a pro-protectionist who had made the successful transition from pre- to post-Confederation Canadian politics. The first meeting was held in Halifax, Nova Scotia on the 15th of June, 1877. By the twenty-second meeting on the 21st of November, 1877, both sides had presented their cases. On the 23rd of the same month, the Commission announced its decision. The commissioners chose

> to award the sum of five millions, five hundred thousand dollars in gold, to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Brittanic Majesty in accordance with the provisions of the said Treaty.[37]

American reaction to the award which was over five times what was expected in the U.S. capital, was predictable. Kellogg disagreed with the sum citing the belief that Great Britain already had more advantages under the Treaty of Washington than the United States. Kellogg also argued that he believed that no decision should be taken without the unanimous consent of the commissioners. In spite of Kellogg's objection, the award stood.[38]

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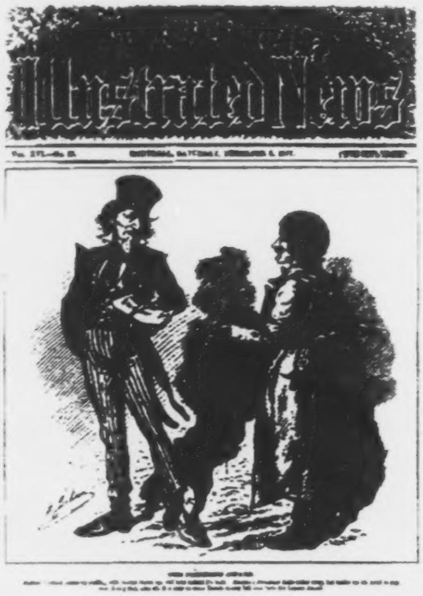
[37] CIHM, 10010, p. IX

[38] CIHM, 10010, p. X

The decision caught the eye of the *Canadian Illustrated News*' newest cartoonist. A young Canadian of French-speaking extraction, Henri Julien who had been a reporter at the federal press gallery in Ottawa before returning to Montreal. As a twenty-two year old, Julien had accompanied the North-West Mounted Police on their first journey in 1874 to confront rebellious Metis forces in what is now Saskatchewan and Manitoba. As a cartoonist his fame grew with every drawing. Before he left the Desbarats publishing house in 1888 to begin a twenty-year career with the *Montreal Star*, his cartoons had appeared in seven major journals including *Harper*'s in New York and *Grip* in Toronto. Like his predecessors, he had less than a flattering view of Uncle Sam.



Here, Uncle Sam agrees to pay Johnny Canuck the sum of $5.5 million dollars noting that it is only a minor inconvenience when considering the award the United States collected from the Geneva tribunal in the Alabama affair. It is interesting to note as well, that Canada assumed a

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decidedly French character who appears much more of the *habitant* than any of the symbols which had appeared in these cartoons earlier.

Henri Julien may have downplayed America's role in what became known as the Halifax award, but journalists and politicians south of the border were not so generous. An article in the New York Herald on 21 October 1878 under the byline of one Alexander Bliss stated

> If the revered relative, who with prudent thrift watches over our youthful welfare, shall wince somewhat at being called upon to put his initials to so large a check, he will, let us hope, be consoled by the reflection that he has at least provided for his numerous family, for the unexpired term of six years yet to come, "a necessary and healthful article of food, plentiful, (if they shall consent to be caught,) and (according to the latest theory of prices), cheap.[39]

John Wilson Bengough, editor and cartoonist for his Toronto-based magazine *Grip* was also following the Halifax Award along with Julien. On Saturday the second of November, 1878, he penned a short, satirical but demeaning letter ostensibly to John Bull from Brother Jonathan. He wrote

> Ef we were to give ourselves away on this occasion, it would be departin from sound American doctrine, and wouldn't go down with our people. In the meantime we hev ben furragin around amongst our dockymints and find to our surprise that we have a small account agin you, amountin to $6,000,000; for damages done to American fishermen by your folks in Newfoundland. I enclose sed account. Please remit by return of mail and oblige.
> Your affectionate cousin,
> Jonathan
> Executive Mansion, Washington[40]

The resulting dissatisfaction with the treaty and the subsequent award led the United States to initiate any number of actions under it. One of the most prominent was a statement of claim for damages real or imagined as seen in the letter above. It was a theme that Bengough returned to in 1888 when a confrontation between American fishing vessels and British officials in Newfoundland's Fortune Bay resulted in this comment. Uncle Sam has submitted a damage claim for $103,000 which Alexander Galt is advising John Bull to ignore.

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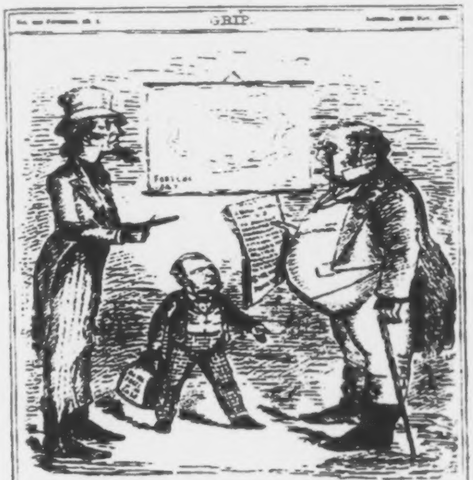
[39] CIHM 16914, Alexander Bliss: A Review of the Halifax Fishery Award, Washington, 1878

[40] Toronto, Ontario Grip, 2 November, 1878



THAT FISHY CLAIM AGAIN

[illegible]—DON'T GIVE HIM A CENT MR. BULL. THIS IS A DEADBEAT GAME AND HE KNOWS IT!

In the spring of 1885, the U.S. Congress notified Canada and Great Britain that when the clauses governing fisheries expired on July 1, 1886, the American government had no interest in renewing them. The result was a return to the provisions of the Convention of 1818 and of course, charges and counter charges of bad behaviour flew across the border. In a letter to Senator William M. Evarts, John Jay accused Britain of violating Article I of the Convention of 1818 by seizing American vessels in Canadian waters. Jay felt that this action would abrogate the Convention and

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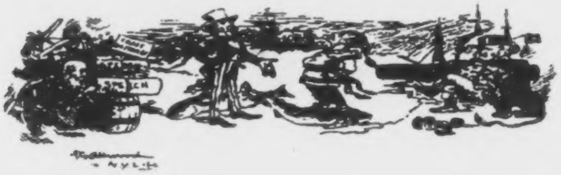
force Britain to recognize the clauses of the Treaty of Paris one more time.[41] The issue did not escape the attention of American cartoonists. John Wilson Bengough chose one of those rare moments when he decided to include a cartoon in *Grip* which he did not draw himself to bring attention to the fishery dispute.



THE FISHERY DISPUTE FROM AN AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW

Grip, 5 March 1887

In many ways, the content is typical of the times and quite predictable. All the belligerence is on the right hand side of the screen with John Bull, the British lion, the cannon and the stereo-typed *habitant* in a pose of defiance. The child-like paper hat and wooden sword sported by one of the Americans just cannot match the firepower on the other side of the river. And of course, gone is the scraggly, unkempt look of Uncle Sam, so prevalent in Canadian cartoons.

With the cancellation of the fisheries clauses in the Treaty of Washington in 1886, once again both sides realized that living without a working agreement could only result in deteriorating relationships on the North American continent. American President Grover Cleveland went to Congress asking that the legislature approve the founding of a joint commission consisting of representatives from Canada, the United States and Great Britain to resolve the differences one more

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[41] CIHM, 07530 The Fisheries Dispute: A Suggestion For its adjustment by Abrogating the Convention of 1818 and Resting On the Rights and Liberties Defined In the Treaty of 1783, by John Jay, Late Minister to Vienna, 1887

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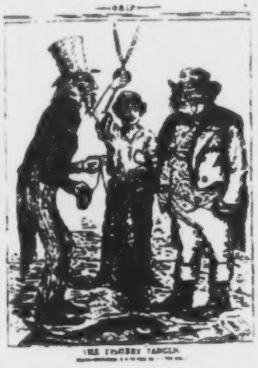
time. Congress refused to act on Cleveland's request by a vote of 38 to 10 when nine Democrats joined 29 Republicans. The impasse did not stop Canadian cartoonists from presenting the case however.



In *The Fishery Tangle*, J.W. Bengough one more time pits an ornery and deceitful Uncle Sam against an overfed and impatient John Bull, who seems to trample under his feet the Convention of 1818 while Uncle Sam appears to have stomped on the Halifax Award. To save the day with a large pair of scissors advocating Canada-U.S. commercial union is once again, the young, virile and handsome Mr. Canada.

In spite of Congressional reluctance, a joint Anglo-American high commission was appointed to review the problems with the fishery. Sir Charles Tupper, a future Canadian prime minister was invited to join the deliberations during the winter of 1887-1888 in the District of Columbia. Once again the issue of free trade was placed on the table. The Americans refused to discuss the topic. Tupper and his British allies came away with only a small set of concessions on the rights of American fishermen in Canadian waters.[42] Even though the Americans virtually lost nothing in the agreement,

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[42] Donald Creighton, p. 185

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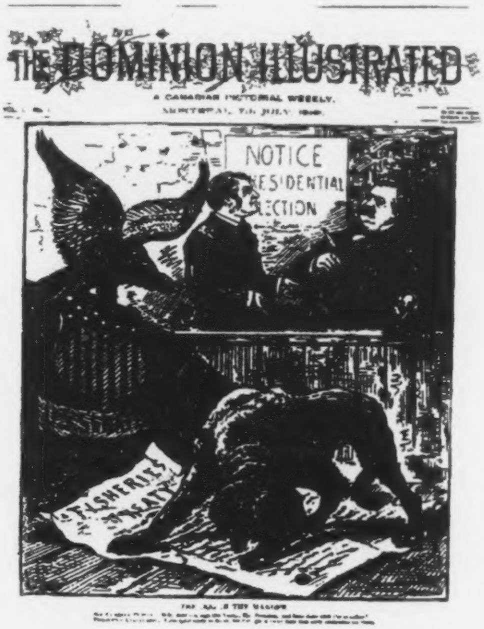
it still created controversy in Washington. Condemning the agreement in the Senate on Tuesday July 10, 1888, George Hoar of Massachusetts asked

> Yet, is it not a little remarkable that there is not to be found throughout the length and breadth of the land, so far as I can hear, a single fisherman who does not deem its provisions an outrage?[43]

The hostility toward even this small tinkering with regulations forced Cleveland to backtrack on his promise to move the agreements quickly to the U.S. Senate. In this cartoon by Henri Julien, the Canadian representative Sir Charles Tupper asks the President why he has not signed the articles. The President notes that the final decision rests with the Senate which has a small Republican majority, characterized here by Julien as a vicious dog locked up in a manger.



THE DOMINION ILLUSTRATED

A CANADIAN PICTORIAL WEEKLY.

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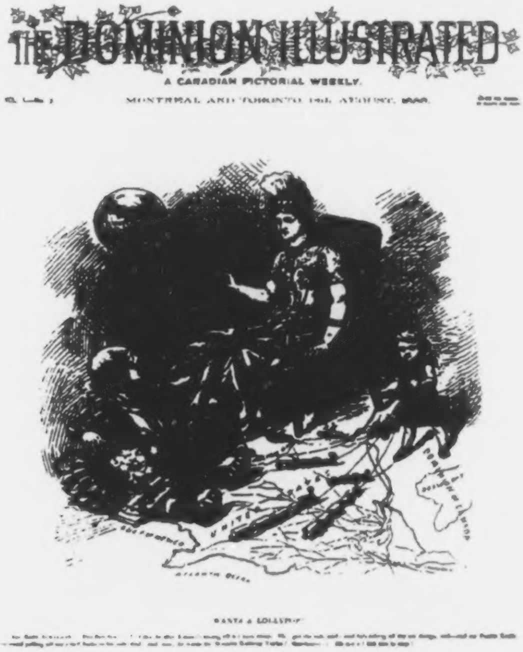
[43] CIHM 07227, Hoar, George Frisbie (Massachusetts) The Fisheries Treaty, Tuesday July 10, 1888

In the final analysis, Julien was most displeased by U.S. attitudes towards Canadian interests, in particular its refusal to negotiate a free trade agreement. In a savage condemnation of the United States in the 18 August, 1888 issue of *The Dominion Illustrated*, Julien pictures Uncle Sam as a bloated, overweight junior version of Brother Jonathan. The spoiled child is appealing to Britain to take "Johnny" in this case, Johnny Canuck into hand. Crying Boo Hoo, he declares

> Little Brother Johnny is taking all my toys away. He's got the fish and he taking all my tea-things, and-and my Pacific Trade, and, and pulling all my canal boats, and...and, now, he wants my Western Railway Traffic! Boo Hoo.....! Ma-a-a-a! Tell Him To Stop.[44]



THE DOMINION ILLUSTRATED

A CANADIAN PICTORIAL WEEKLY.

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[44] Montreal and Toronto, The Dominion Illustrated News, 18 August, 1888

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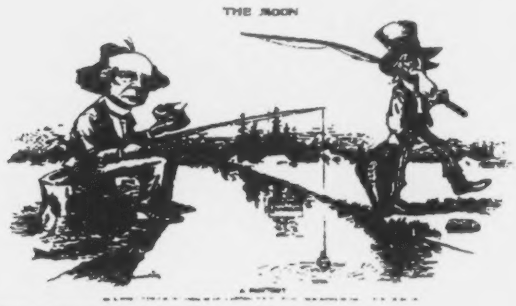
Eventually, the three parties agreed to a set of conditions regarding the North American fishery although no treaty yet has resolved the differences on this issue between Canada and the United States. Nonetheless, other and more important issues regarding Canadian-American relations came to dominate the headlines such as defense matters, cultural issues and monetary exchanges. Finally, in 1988, Canada and the United States signed their first free trade agreement since the Reciprocity Treaty was canceled in 1866. Yet the image of fish wars continue to haunt the Canadian imagination. In 1902, this anonymous cartoonist publishing in the Toronto satirical journal *The Moon* reached back into nearly one hundred and twenty years of history when making a visual comment on who had the best access to the British market place. The symbol of a traded commodity was a fish.



The Moon, 17 November 1902

In many respects, the treatment accorded the American position in the numerous fisheries disputes throughout the 19th century resembled a morality play. However, the issues at stake went well beyond the question of wether or not Canadian toryism was just being difficult in its attempt to come to grips with the great republican and liberal experiment taking place on its doorstep. There was little doubt that Canada not only wanted but needed the protection of an imperial power such as Great Britain. There were scattered attempts by some Canadian business people to throw off the British yoke and join the United States. Part of the initiatives were clearly based in an ever increasing jealousy of U.S. wealth and power. Canadians were rapidly coming to grips with the realization that they would have to move quickly to become an independent power or face a future of dependency in an under developed backwater.

However the attitude of the daily press did little to encourage friendly relations with the United States. Both major political parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals, had the major dailies in their respective back pockets. It took the humourists such as Walker, Bengough, Jump, Julien and others to bring the reality of the issues to the foreground. Until the late 19th century, the only outlets for their satire were the numerous illustrated and humour magazines that began to appear with increasing regularity on the street corner newsstands of the nation prior to Confederation in 1867. Eventually as the new century crept closer, the dailies freed themselves from political inference and began commenting on the news as well as reporting it. One of the first lines of expression was the inclusion of the satirical political cartoon. The Victorians gave way to a new generation of artists. The twentieth century newsworkers would have names such as Racey, Jeffries, Baron, Tingley, Mosher, Gable and MacPherson. As Canada resolved its relationships with its North American neighbour, cartooning turned inward to political and social stress in Canada itself.

Author's Notes

The letters CIHM stand for the Canadian Institute of Historical Micropreproductions. The Institute tours libraries and archives in Canada on a regular basis to catalogue and film historical materials that otherwise would not be catalogued in any regular or logical fashion. These include copies of speeches, pamphlets, parts of newspapers, position papers, etc. The author has used the code number in the footnotes in order to give researchers wishing to pursue some of this material easy access to it.

There are two Goldwin Smith's noted in the study. The first was a university professor and journalist who emigrated from England to the United States and eventually to Canada. Living in Toronto, he became involved in various political causes. Eventually, he became an ardent annexationist. The second Goldwin Smith was a professor at Iowa State University during the second World War. The author has not attempted to establish a connection between them, but it is highly likely they were related.

History

"Launching the Radio Church, 1921-1940"

Winner, Warren Price Paper Prize for
Significant Contribution to Journalism
and Mass Communication History

Association for Education in Journalism and
Mass Communication Annual Meeting

New Orleans, August 1999

Author: Tona J. Hangen
Brandeis University Ph.D. 1999

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Title: Launching the Radio Church, 1921-1940

Calvary Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh welcomed two unusual guests one frigid January evening in 1921. They were dressed in robes like the rest of Calvary's choir, but one was Jewish and the other a Roman Catholic. Engineers from Westinghouse, the two men tried to appear inconspicuous as they monitored the "wireless telephone receiving apparatus" installed for the occasion of the nation's first religious radio broadcast. Calvary's Sunday service was sent out for a thousand miles over the jerry-rigged facilities of the first radio station in the United States, KDKA. The station had been broadcasting only since November to a handful of Pennsylvania folks with crystal receiving sets; thus radio and radio evangelism were born together.[1]

Within three years a church or religious organization would hold one out of every fourteen radio station licenses; the number of stations operated by religious groups climbed from twenty-nine in 1924 to seventy-one in 1925.[2] By the mid-1920s, churches or other religious organizations controlled ten percent of the more than 600 radio stations in the United States.[3] Hundreds of preachers from all denominational stripes could be heard on the radio, despite initial fears like those expressed by fundamentalist Presbyterian Clarance Macartney, that church services "sent indiscriminately abroad into all kinds of places" would be "grotesque and irreverent."[4] Many became convinced that radio was a God-given means to extend the reach of Christian evangelism.

This essay explores the struggle among Protestants to gain and preserve access to the radio airwaves, and the broader context within which that struggle took place, namely: a widening modernist/ fundamentalist division in American religion, the ongoing debate about religion's role in a democracy, and the commercialization of radio itself. During radio's first two decades, religious broadcasters' messages were shaped by the emerging system of private networks under federal control. But the system itself took the form it did by 1940 partly because

Tona J. Hangen/ hangen@brandeis.edu/ AEJMC Conference, New Orleans/ August 1999

of the aggressive self-marketing and powerful cultural appeal of religion on the air, as this essay will demonstrate.

Unlike pulpit preaching, or even the religious press, religious radio broadcasting had constraints built in by technology. There were a finite number of broadcast frequencies and stations, a finite number of hours of radio airtime. While the airwaves belonged to the public, the means of broadcasting did not. Religious broadcasters, though they might claim so, did not have an inherent right to preach on the air.[5] Instead, they had to stake their claims for access on some other basis: being deserving of free time, willing to comply with the rules of fairness and tolerance expected of station license holders, or able to pay for commercial time at market rates. Conservative Protestants, therefore, who quickly established themselves as paying sponsors of religious programs were well-positioned to take advantage of the medium's increasing commercialization.

I. Staking Out the Broadcast Territory

Radio from its beginning fell under the somewhat loose purview of the Department of Commerce; most of the stations before 1926 were locally owned by private individuals or groups (such as newspapers or department stores), broadcasting a vibrantly experimental mix of programs. Radio hobbyists across the nation delighted in picking up the signal of distant stations, and broadcasters tried to be heard by installing larger or more powerful transmitters, or even broadcasting at unused frequencies or those allocated to another station.[6] William Ward Ayer, who would late become the first president of the National Religious Broadcasters, was a young pastor in Valparaiso, Indiana, when he first encountered radio in 1922:

> While visiting the home of one of the officers of the church I was asked by a young son if I wanted to listen to the radio. He took me to his room, which was filled with radio gadgets, put a set of earphones over my head and worked with an old-fashioned crystal set. After the squeals and screeches died away, I heard a voice speaking and then some music being played. I was told it came from Chicago--fully fifty miles away--there were no wires to conduct it, just picked it out of the air. I

> thought it was marvelous, but I had no conception of the place that radio would occupy in the years ahead.[7]

By the middle of the 1920s, radio broadcasting sounded something akin to chaos.[8] Religious broadcasters had no clear or organized strategy in these years. Some took time whenever it was offered from their local stations. For example, Paul Rader, a Chicago-area fundamentalist, first went on the air to supplement programs like "Municipal Accounting" and "How Your Letter is Delivered" being sent out from mayor William H. Thompson's new transmitter on the roof of City Hall.[9] Others bought time when they could afford to; some, like Pentecostal preacher Aimee Semple McPherson in Los Angeles, started their own stations and tried to keep them financially afloat.

The first radio network was launched in 1926 when NBC, a subsidiary of RCA, began broadcasting. NBC executives decided that their nation-wide programming ought to include religion, and they made two decisions with long-reaching consequences. First, NBC chose not to sell airtime for religious broadcasts. And second, the network developed a policy of donating a block of time to representatives of the three major faith groups in the United States: Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. For its Protestant group, NBC contacted the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, which represented twenty-five mostly liberal mainline Protestant denominations and whose New York Federation office was handy to the NBC studios. NBC executives formed a twenty-member Advisory Council in the interest of fair and nondiscriminatory broadcasting, and invited the General Secretary of the Federal Council, Charles S. Macfarland, to serve on the board.[10]

The relationship between the Federal Council and NBC was a cozy one; network executives made it their personal business to make sure, for instance, that Macfarland had a top-quality RCA radio in his home.[11] From its inception, the network sought meetings with and advice of Federal Council leaders to "determine clearly the attitude of the Protestant Churches to radio activities," and to address what Secretary Macfarland called "the broader and larger problems of national non-sectarian services for the country as a whole."[12] Macfarland himself went on to act as chairman, at the same time, of the Federal Council's National Religious Radio Committee and of the religious activities of NBC itself.[13]

From this cooperation emerged several long-running standard Protestant services on NBC, produced by the Federal Council's Department of National Religious Radio and broadcast during time slots donated by NBC. The flagship program was the "National Radio Pulpit," a suitably non-sectarian and widely-heard forum for preachers like Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, the Reverend Ralph Sockman, and Harry Emerson Fosdick.[14] Catholics and Jews, the other members of the triumvirate of religious "insiders," also had free time on network radio with programs like "Catholic Hour" and "Message of Israel."[15] The National Religious Radio Committee also sponsored programs of general religious boosterism; for example, a 1928 broadcast of President Calvin Coolidge's reflections on "religion as the basis of national life."[16]

The national radio networks of NBC and (by 1928) CBS brought one kind of coherence to radio broadcasting; another was provided by the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), established by the Radio Act of 1927. The FRC (which became the FCC when the Radio Act was revised in 1934) had authority to grant and renew station licenses and to allocate broadcast frequencies and transmission strengths, all according to a new legislative standard, "the public interest, convenience, and necessity."[17] The FRC believed that religious broadcasting fulfilled the public interest and recognized it existed widely on radio. Codifying the status quo, the new FRC license renewal form required broadcasters to account for religious programming in their schedules.[18]

However, whether religious programming should be broadcast as sustaining time programs (in other words, on free time donated by networks and stations in the interest of public service) or as commercial broadcasts, sold at market value, the FRC left open to interpretation. Frowning on denominational stations that served a single religious group, the commission explained in its third annual report that the public interest would be better served if "doctrines, creeds and beliefs must find their way into the market of ideas by the existing public-service stations."[19] Religious broadcasters could be forgiven their confusion at the FRC's juxtaposing "market of ideas" and "public-service stations" in the same sentence. As long as religion was aired as a part of the overall broadcast schedule of radio stations, the FRC made no official policy as to what kind of religion, nor whether broadcasts should be sustaining time or commercial. The solution, in other words, had to come from religious organizations themselves.

Naturally the Northern mainline churches, being the beneficiaries of sustaining time, favored this as the sole means of spreading the gospel by radio.[20] But fundamentalists, concerned they were being unfairly denied access to preach the "real" gospel, worried that broadcasters airing sustaining time religious programs might hesitate to sell additional time for religious programs. Both groups objected to the confusion raised by having two very different means for religious broadcasters to get their programs out, particularly to the unchurched millions.

Neither the FRC nor the networks explicitly set down just what constituted "religious programming" in the late 1920s, but they could agree on what it was not: fortune-telling, astrology, and spiritualism could not be aired because they misled the public, for example.[21] Interestingly, network and federal policy about objectionable content and profane language meant that radio ministers were the only broadcasters allowed to utter certain words, including God's name, "hell," and "damn."[22]

Restrictions placed on religion by NBC and by the FRC had an uneven effect on the industry as a whole, however. On unaffiliated and independent stations the situation was far more fluid, with many stations both selling and donating time as they saw fit. And unlike NBC, CBS (and likewise Mutual and ABC, founded in 1934 and 1945 respectively) initially made some airtime available for sale to religious broadcasters, and this enabled those who could raise the funds to be heard on national network radio--most notably Father Charles Coughlin on CBS from 1926 to 1931, although he was not alone. The stage was set by the late 1920s for a protracted and highly visible war of the words, as religious broadcasters of all stripes competed for airtime that seemed less abundant and--ominously--held by fewer and more powerful hands.[23]

In 1928, that struggle became more intense when the Federal Council, with its prominent place on NBC's Advisory Council, moved to consolidate control over the so-called "sustaining" time granted it by the network. The Advisory committee drafted "five fundamental principles of religious broadcasting," to "assure the radio public of a constructive ministry of religion, unencumbered [by] sectarian considerations and free of all divisiveness." The five points, adopted without change by NBC, were:

> 1. The National Broadcasting Company will serve only the central of national agencies of great religious faiths, as for example the Roman Catholics, the Protestants and the Hebrews, as distinguished from individual churches or small group movements where the national membership is comparatively small.
> 2. The religious message broadcast should be non-sectarian and non-denominational in appeal.
> 3. The religious broadcast message should be of the widest appeal—presenting the broad claims of religion, which not only aid in building up the personal and social life of the individual but also aid in popularizing religion and the Church.
> 4. The religious message broadcast should interpret religion at its highest and best so that as an educational factor it will bring the individual listener to realize his responsibility to the organizational Church.
> 5. The national religious messages should only be broadcast by the recognized outstanding leaders of the several faiths.

After this high-minded catalogue were printed what can only be described as fighting words: "the Federal Council's Committee is pursuing an inquiry as to the local services conducted from the various centers of the country at the present time."[24] In other words, the Federal Council appeared not to be content to monopolize free airtime on NBC network stations, but was mounting an investigation into time on unaffiliated local stations--presumably, thought some fundamentalists, with the aim of cleansing the temple of those who bought and sold airtime for religious purposes.

The truth was, however, that an "inquiry" represented the outer limit of the Federal Council's ability to wrest control from the fundamentalist broadcasters who bought time on their unaffiliated locals, not the beginning of a powerful campaign of suppression. If anything, the threat was in the opposite direction--from evangelical broadcasters who did not have to create programs everyone could agree with, and whose doctrines and rhetorical style may have been closer to the hearts of most American Christians. It was true that by the end of the 1920s, Sinclair Lewis's Elmer Gantry defined what intellectuals thought of fundamentalism, and a liberal minority controlled the mainline denominations. But the laity and the ordinary clergy were another story altogether, even in the mainline churches. As Thomas Reeves has put it, "most Christians knew and cared little about such intellectual matters. Their faith survived in spite of the professors, and their penchant for fundamentalism remained powerful."[25] The mass audience for religious radio cut a broad swath through American society, representing a group far less polarized than the vocal leaders and contentious theologians. And among this group of ordinary folks, many were willing to cross denominational lines in their listening, even if they would not have physically walked into the church building of another faith.[26] The vocal minorities of modernists and revisionist Bible scholars on one extreme, and separatist fundamentalists or "come-outers" on the other, bifurcated American religion into seemingly incompatible realms. But the majority of American Christians could be found somewhere in between--demonstrating a lingering conservatism not by openly affiliating with fundamentalist churches but by integrating and assimilating diffuse cultural strands through their reading and listening habits. The grand tones of the Federal Council's ecumenical five points suggested not a firm hold on the listening audience, but their deep fear of losing it.

The Greater New York Federation of Churches, a Federal Council regional chapter, argued in 1931 that religious radio was a "public utility" entitled to sustaining time, pledging "every effort" by the Council "to keep away from theological controversy and to offer a clear and understandable presentation of religious truth"[27]--in other words, a truth that was generic rather than specific. Since "frequent and persistent applications are made by various denominational and sectarian agencies for the broadcasting of their own religious programs," the Federation went on the record opposing any particular denomination's request, "however worthy," to keep from setting a "dangerous precedent."[28] General Secretary Macfarland, addressing the nation by radio, condemned any religious "iconoclast for vituperous and defamatory tearing down."[29]

As Macfarland's comment suggested, the divide between fundamentalists and the Federal Council was partly a matter of rhetorical style on the air. Mainline preachers' measured, scholarly sermons provided a stark contrast to the often spontaneous, highly emotional fundamentalist exhortations.[30] Mainline Protestants also resented the unseemly way that fundamentalists identified by name those with whom they disagreed, using inflammatory wording like "Mohammedans, Buddhist, Roman Catholics, and other pagans,"[31] or "Lutheran Hour" preacher Walter Maier's castigation of modern mainline churches as "the prostitution of the bride of Christ."[32] Liberal Presbyterian Harry Emerson Fosdick voiced the concern of many in the Federal Council when he wrote,

> Sunday mornings the air will be full of sermons in any case. The query is only whose sermons will be on the air. It is needless to name those representing a type of Christianity which you and I do not believe in. Ought we to leave the air to their monopoly? I do not believe we should.[33]

Fundamentalists, however, saw the monopoly as belonging to the Federal Council, whose claim to speak for all of Protestantism they utterly rejected.[34] Their view was summarized by the movement's historian, James DeForest Murch, who praised the efforts of "aggressive exponents of Bible truth" like radio preachers John Roach Straton and Robert ("Fighting Bob") Schuler:[35] "thousands who had been denied Bible preaching by liberal ministers in their own churches rejoiced at the opportunity once again to hear the old Gospel."[36] Fundamentalists believed that the Federal Council had mounted an "organized, systematic campaign to monopolize religious broadcasting,"[37] against which conservatives, with no powerful organization of their own, needed to be constantly vigilant. This belief would become a major motivation for the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942, and the National Religious Broadcasters Association in 1944.[38]

The evidence fundamentalists marshaled against the Federal Council can all be traced to a single, probably erroneous source: a press report from the 1929 Religious Publicity Conference at the Hotel Chalfonte in Atlantic City, at which Charles Macfarland was a keynote speaker. The General Secretary of the Federal Council at the time, Macfarland addressed the conference on the question "How Can Radio be Incorporated into the Publicity Program of the Churches?" An unauthorized press release quoted Macfarland as saying that the Federal Council was in the process of collecting stations' assurances to only carry Federal Council programs and confidently predicting that "in the future, no denomination or individual church will be able to secure any time whatever on the air unless they are willing to pay prohibitively high prices for brief periods of broadcast." During the question period following his remarks, the press release stated, Macfarland confirmed that the Federal Council was working to "control all religious broadcasting."[39] This press release was cited in nearly every fundamentalist discussion of Federal Council broadcasting for the next twenty years, despite the efforts of Macfarland to demonstrate he had been grossly misquoted.[40]

In truth, the Federal Council strongly opposed the proliferation of small independent broadcasters and supported measures to limit the sale of airtime. By the end of the 1920s, mainline churches had several articulate organizations promoting or producing sustaining time religious broadcasting. The Federal Council had its own Department of Religious Radio and was well represented on NBC's Advisory Council. Some of the larger denominations within the Federal Council, such as the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. had their own committees on religious radio, all working to keep religious broadcasting from being sucked into the emerging commercial radio market. Religious truth, they felt, should not be vulnerable to crass financial pressures. They admitted that between Protestant liberals and conservatives "there are battles to be fought," but as the Council's General Secretary argued in 1929, "I think we must fight them through some channel other than the radio or else none of our religious groups will be able to use the air."[41]

II. Radio, the New Gateway to the "Old Path"

At the same time religious organizations were jostling for airtime and broadcast frequencies, nearly every American Protestant denomination was wrenched by an ongoing debate between modernists and fundamentalists in the 1920s. Protestants were engaged in a struggle for leadership of the American religious establishment--a struggle precisely parallel to the one over control of the media, the channels of cultural authority. In retrospect, the clash of sensibilities and strategies during the 1925 trial of Tennessee schoolteacher John Scopes seemed the deciding moment in that debate--and it was only fitting that a radio hookup from the small town of Dayton should make the Scopes case, which held at its heart a religious argument, the first national broadcast of an American trial.[42] Modernists retained the leadership of the major denominations following a series of caustic and divisive denominational meetings in 1924 and 1925, but the victory proved hollow in the long run. Membership in mainline churches began a long and slow decline in the twenties[43] while Southern Baptists and other fundamentalist-oriented denominations flourished[44]--and continued to broadcast over the radio throughout the middle of the decade without any apparent retreat.

What makes the case of conservative Protestant radio broadcasting so compelling to consider is that fundamentalists embraced a modern technology to preach a gospel that rejected modernism. Walter Maier, speaking on the "Lutheran Hour" (a CBS radio program sponsored by the Lutheran Laymen's League of the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church), criticized what he saw as a trend towards entertainment in churches to attract members. "We do not need new liturgies," he pronounced,

> we do not need the new Bibles which a score of publishers are endeavoring to foist upon the Church in the form of modern translations and special edition; we do not need new systems and modernized methods; we do not need new ideas in the pulpit and new ideas in the pew. We do not need anything new.[45]

The irony of such a statement being uttered on the radio points up the distinction fundamentalists were making in the late 1920s between the technology of modernity and the theology of modernism. It is critical to understand that conservative Protestants were savvy to the "new" and the modern without also taking on a cynical contempt for old religious doctrines. New Republic writer Bruce Bliven wrote of the audiences for Aimee Semple McPherson, whose radio station KFSG brought Pentecostalism to thousands of midwestern migrants in Southern California:

> It is an audience which combines mental mediaevalism with an astonishing up-to-dateness in the physical realm. Its homes are full of electric refrigerators, washing-machines and new-type phonographs, its garages contain 1927 automobiles. It utilizes the breath-taking new marvels of the radio in order to hear rigid doctrines... and sees nothing incongruous in joining (over the radio) in a moment of silent prayer—silent, that is, except for the hum of the B-battery eliminator.[46]

Radio's ability to unite far-flung groups of people in the experience of hearing a program simultaneously both appealed to fundamentalists determined to evangelize the world and thereby hasten the second coming of Christ. For fundamentalists, the late twenties and thirties were years of fervent hope for revival amid organizational disarray. At times they seemed united only in their opposition to the Federal Council, voiced in periodicals like Carl MacIntire's Christian Beacon, John R. Rice's Sword of the Lord, and the venerable Sunday School Times. All three papers had ties to radio programs or reported regularly on radio and published schedules of approved broadcasts. For example, in 1938, Sunday School Times editor Charles Trumbull visited the studios of KHJ in Los Angeles where Charles and Grace Fuller recorded the nationally-syndicated "Old Fashioned Revival Hour" for the Mutual network. Trumbull included the Fuller's production on his short list of "truly sound and evangelistic broadcasts" which furthered the fundamentalist cause in the United States.[47] Also on the list were Walter Maier's "Lutheran Hour" and the broadcasts of the Moody Bible Institute over WMBI Chicago. Rejoicing in the coast-to-coast reach of the "Revival Hour," Trumbull reminded his readers of the "well known, nation-wide broadcasts of the messages of preachers and other religious speakers of national or international reputation whose position is distinctly Liberal and Modernistic, or who are leaders of false cults." But too few, he felt, had been able to bring to the national airwaves an "uncompromising" array of doctrines he emphasized were not negotiable:

> the whole Bible as the Word of God, the Lord Jesus Christ as God and the only Saviour of lost sinners, his virgin birth, the blood atonement of his substitutionary and sacrificial death on the cross, his bodily resurrection, the work of the Holy spirit in making Christ known to men and bringing to pass in them the new birth through faith in Christ, and the imminent, premillennial return of Christ to establish his Kingdom on earth.[48]

Trumbull concluded that the broadcasts produced by the Fullers and other fundamentalists "uncompromising" on doctrine had been raised up by God, using radio "to meet the appalling spiritual need of today."[49] Conservative Protestants used radio to try to swing the cultural balance in their favor, believing that they held the key not only to individuals' happiness, but to the preservation of the American way of life through their insistence on having a public voice.

III. To Shore up this Fragile Democracy

Religion shared much in common with politics during this period as a gray area for broadcast policy. Like politics on radio, religious broadcasting was considered both a public good and a breeding ground for controversy. Questions of time allocation, fairness, and inclusion or exclusion of marginal groups applied to both religious groups and political groups seeking access to radio. Radio's increasing centrality to public discourse and its growing importance as a source of information heightened concerns about the uses to which the medium could be put. Herbert Hoover declared in 1929 that "Radio has become a social force of the first order... it is revolutionizing the political debates that underlie political action under our principles of government." By 1940, radio would come to outdistance newspapers as the chief source of political information 52 to 38 percent in opinion polls.[50]

Like religious programs on network sustaining time, political debates were initially a public service offering on radio. Political candidates were not charged for airtime until the 1928 election.[51] Third-party candidates, like religious fundamentalists, frequently charged that their access to the airwaves (free or otherwise) was repressively limited. Before the Radio Act of 1934, stations carried liability for libels spoken on the air, but were not permitted to censor programs, so understandably they were hesitant to provide airtime for speakers who might prove controversial. Sometimes station and network policy about radio politics worked in favor of religious broadcasters--during the 1920s anti-Prohibition speakers were seldom heard (most conservative Protestants squarely supported Prohibition), while during the New Deal, left-wing and labor radio broadcasters found it hard to obtain airtime.[52] Those who tried to combine religion and politics on the air in this period often ended up simply doubling their trouble--Los Angeles Reverend "Fighting Bob" Schuler was quickly forced off the air when he aired his opinions about local judges.

One organization closely watching the way both political and religious broadcasters used radio was the Institute for Education by Radio, a consortium of radio broadcasters, university professors, public educators, writers, and interested citizens that met annually at Ohio State University from 1929 into the 1950s. They gathered to consider how public and higher education might be advanced by radio, and more broadly, how radio itself educated (or mis-educated) the public. Throughout the thirties, as delegates to the Institute discussed the potential threat religious radio posed to a fragile and Depression-troubled democracy, Father Coughlin seemed to be on the tip of every tongue.[53] Interestingly, fundamentalist Protestants of any stripe never seemed to enter the consciousness of the concerned and vigilant members of the Institute; perhaps the threat posed in their minds by Coughlin made all others pale into insignificance.

Father Charles Coughlin has been the subject of considerable historical treatment, but some brief background may be helpful to explain why he became the symbol of all that was wrong with commercial religious broadcasting.[54] Father Coughlin had begun his broadcasting career in 1926 with a program for children, carried over telephone hookup from his parish in Royal Oak, Michigan, to WJR in Detroit. A gifted radio orator, Coughlin developed his broadcasts over the CBS network into a national sensation; *Fortune* magazine called him "the biggest thing that ever happened to radio."[55] His programs in the wake of the financial crash applied the Catholic call to social activism, evident in the Rerum Novarum papal encyclical issued a generation earlier, to the "deepening distress" of the industrial heartland.[56] Coughlin formed the "Radio League of the Little Flower" to which thousands of Americans mailed money and letters, and which he was able to mobilize for his cause.[57] In April of 1931 CBS decided not to renew his contract, as historian Alan Brinkley put it, "deceiving no one with its explanation that the decision had nothing to do with Coughlin himself,"[58] so Father Coughlin did what any number of religious broadcasters had done for years on a lesser scale. He set up his own network, stringing together time purchased simultaneously on twenty-six stations--although none of them, significantly, were in the South or the far West.[59]

Coughlin was at the height of his influence during the next five years. His weekly audience was estimated at ten million steady listeners.[60] He easily drew in the fourteen thousand dollars a week--even at the lowest point of the Depression--to pay for his airtime, and employed an office staff numbering more than two hundred to open the mail. Coughlin received more mail than anyone in America, including President Roosevelt.[61] In 1934 a typical week brought eighty thousand letters, enclosing a total of twenty thousand dollars.[62] The following year Coughlin established a political lobby, the National Union for Social Justice.[63] Father Coughlin's broadcasts and newsletters became critical of Roosevelt's New Deal, reflecting his increasingly nativistic and fascist views.[64] With Roosevelt's reelection, popular support for Coughlin's strident views began to diminish.

Delegates to the Institute for Education by Radio feared that Coughlin's caustic rhetoric was aimed at turning people against the government itself, swaying them by what one delegate called Coughlin's "dramatic harangues."[65] Their distaste for both Coughlin's message and his methods grew as the decade of the 1930s progressed--and as Coughlin's own broadcasting underwent a noticeable shift towards the political far right fringe.

In 1935, a delegate could politely express a hope not to "cause anyone offense" by saying that the "creation of the type of man of which Father Coughlin is an example [is] a liability of the radio, not an asset."[66] When the conference met just four years later, the politeness was gone, and the excesses of Father Coughlin had begun to taint all of religious broadcasting in the minds of the Institute delegates. Coughlin's threat to democracy and his unswerving and caustic attacks on non-Christians, were understood as well known by everyone. An executive of the Municipal Broadcasting System in New York declared that the problem with Coughlin was that there was no presentation on the air of the other side of the controversial issue. His "anti-democratic propaganda" was balanced by no opposing program. He hastened to add that he felt censoring Coughlin would be wrong, but that so was the policy of failing to present the other half of the debate by airing what amounted to an unanswered attack on the nation's freedoms. Coughlin was, in short, a "radio menace."[67] Institute members resented the abuse of freedom of the air, in other words, in the way Coughlin undermined the very right that granted him (as a religious broadcaster) access to the people by radio.[68]

For their part, Protestants condemned Coughlin for his unchristian tone: "his powers of vituperation, of condemnation and of innuendo, are unequaled among radio orators," declared the Christian Century.[69] Fundamentalists--who like Coughlin, bought their airtime--noted Coughlin's meteoric fall, and learned not to repeat the radio priest's mistake. His fatal error, as they saw it, was his inability to keep from meddling in politics and his tendency to muddy the message with transient partisanship rather than presenting "eternal" and unchanging doctrines. Walter Maier in 1936 articulated the views of many conservative Protestants about Father Coughlin, speaking of "a priest with a commendable passion for the cause of the American workman, who made the fatal error of crossing the Scripturally imposed line separating Church from State and who entered the arena of political affairs as a partisan leader." This unwise clergyman, said Maier, although "publicized a few months ago as few other churchmen in our history... is today deserted by the majority of his followers, attacked even by clerics in the Church to which he had dedicated his help."[70] He held Coughlin up as the prime example of the folly of trusting human leaders rather than putting faith in God.

By 1938 Coughlin, now openly anti-Semitic, was a "once-defeated demagogue trying for a comeback."[71] Religious programming now posed a special problem for the radio industry. Federal Communications Commissioner (and later, the vice-president of CBS radio) H. A. Bellows saw two solutions: either stations and networks could "auction off time," or they could "pass the buck" to Councils of Churches and let them fill the time.[72] Either way, broadcasters needed a standard for religious programs on which they could all agree. Chairman of the FCC, Lawrence Fly, for his part disapproved of "radio propagandists" and "looked to NAB self-regulatory action as the only alternative to FCC action."[73]

IV. Buying Time, Selling Time: Radio's Commercialization

So-called "radio propagandists," as many considered paid-time radio preachers to be, participated in the growing commercialization of the medium of radio itself. Susan Smulyan has argued that the acceptance of national networks and broadcasting advertising made radio less responsive to its audience. Advertisers dominated radio, and advertisers' ideas about good taste and mass society decided the fare on commercial radio.[74] Religious broadcasters who purchased airtime can be seen as a different kind of commercial broadcaster with a much more direct link to their audiences. While sponsors of commercial radio programs measured their success by a program's ratings and by the sales of the product advertised, commercial religious broadcasting relied on money donated directly by listeners to pay for airtime. Religious broadcasters' market exigencies determined that programs should appeal to as wide an audience as possible in order to generate revenue, which somewhat mitigated controversy on the air.

But as the Father Coughlin episode demonstrated, and as many independent fundamentalist broadcasters discovered, programs with a clearly identifiable and urgent appeal (even to people's intolerance, fear, or prejudice) did better on the air than watered-down, generalized religious programs. Religious broadcasters had to negotiate a fine line between avoiding offense, thereby ensuring their continued place on the air but possibly losing listener interest, and being too controversial, jeopardizing their ability to purchase time. All the while, the industry as a whole grappled with much the same problems, as religion was just one of many points on which self-regulation was becoming unavoidable.[75]

In July of 1939, the National Association of Broadcasters proposed an industry-wide code of standards. Several revisions of the NAB code included a provision about offensive material, and cautioned against derogatory statements against religions or other groups of people.[76] The final version as adopted by the NAB at its convention stated:

> Radio, which reaches men of all creeds and races simultaneously, may not be used to convey attacks upon another's race or religion. Rather it should be the purpose of

> the religious broadcast to promote the spiritual harmony and understanding of mankind and to administer broadly to the varied religious needs of the community.[77]

Coughlin seems to have been a particular target of the code, which had "produced considerable discussion" at the annual conference of the NAB, and was viewed as a provision spelling the end of "crusading clergymen who have stirred up controversy in recent months."[78] In that year's Institute for Education by Radio meeting, in a session devoted to a debate about the proposed code, one New York delegate called for the conversation to talk "coolly" about standards that would apply to all, rather than focusing on the "merits of a particular program" and becoming mired in "all of the emotion that surrounds the controversy over Father Coughlin."[79] The new code--although not adopted by a majority of station-owners--went into effect just after the outbreak of war in Europe in 1940. Broadcasting magazine editors predicted the code would mean revenue losses for small market-stations in particular, and that it would affect the purchased airtime of "several well-known ecclesiastics."[80] Stations soon "began canceling Coughlin off the air"[81] and by 1941 he was off the radio for good.[82]

Meanwhile, radio leaders in the Federal Council took the opportunity to remind the industry and the public that the Coughlin problem was the inevitable result of selling airtime for religion in the first place, and to claim that they never criticized other religions on the air.[83] They reiterated this position in part because they were themselves struggling throughout the late thirties to hold onto the time they did have--a "readjustment" by NBC resulted in a disappointing loss of one of their key Sunday times in 1936, for instance.[84] Marshall Fishwick called Father Coughlin "the rock on which the radio church was built."[85] It may be rather more accurate to think of Coughlin as the rock on which the optimistically-launched radio church was very nearly shipwrecked. Religious broadcasters in the twenties and thirties were vulnerable: fundamentalists depended, like Coughlin, on piecemeal purchasing and listener financing, while liberals were at the mercy of network and station decisions for their time on the air. Yet fundamentalists were able to make considerable progress with revivalistic radio in the twenties and thirties. Perhaps Biblical broadcasts, however uncompromising and strident, seemed somehow more familiar and safe than the words of the Catholic priest from Michigan. After all, the vast majority of fundamentalist broadcasting had as its sole and unwavering goal the conversion of souls and the furthering of God's chosen churches--a redemptive goal that, most Americans thought, posed no immediate threat, and some potential benefit, to democratic institutions.

Even so, by the late thirties all the radio networks had begun to associate religious broadcasting with controversy, and to think of religious broadcasting less of a "public interest" to be fostered and allowed time for, and more of a controversy to be contained and bounded. A CBS executive made this clear in 1939 when he declared at the Institute conference that not only did CBS not sell time to Coughlin "or anyone else," but that they were "gradually evolving a policy of not selling time for the discussion of controversial questions."[86] That religion could be displaced from the pinnacle of the common good to being a "controversial question," just another choice among many, surely disturbed religious broadcasters. Fundamentalist and evangelical broadcasters would begin to feel a need for cooperation and organization in the forties and would found several parachurch organizations to advocate successfully for broadcasters' access to the airwaves.

The adoption of the NAB Code in 1939 paved the way for the 1941 "Mayflower" decision by the FCC, which prohibited editorializing by stations and which some religious broadcasters would regard as an inhibition on their prerogative to preach their doctrines.[87] The new code represented an attempt by broadcasters to reign in some control over the airspace that had been lost by "renting" it to commercial interests.[88] Commercial religious broadcasters saw their programming as an alternative to the materialistic and morally degrading sponsored programs that dominated network schedules--yet they were becoming enmeshed in the commercial broadcasting industry themselves. The irony is that the tenacity shown by fundamentalist and evangelical broadcasters in getting, and staying, on radio in the twenties and thirties served them far better than sustaining-time handouts served mainline Protestant churches. Regular listeners and donors to fundamentalist programs were, after all, necessary to those programs' survival, and conversely the thousands of donors began to seem like a nucleus of a growing movement.

Robert McChesney has criticized fundamentalist radio preachers for "buying in" to the capitalist paradigm and not participating in an organized critique of the status quo.[89] It is true that, as they were radio's "paying customers" it suited religious broadcasters not to dismantle the system through which they obtained time. But it is also true that many independent commercial preachers used that time to launch a sustained attack on the morally impoverished society surrounding them. Their unique stance certainly sheds new light on the complicated reality of the medium's commercialization, and of the paradoxical blend of accommodation and cultural opposition that has characterized religion in the mass media in this century.

Notes

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[2] Quentin J. Schultze, "Evangelical Radio and the Rise of the Electronic Church, 1921-1948," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 32:3 (Summer 1988), 291.

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[7] William Ward Ayer, "Will Americans Be Allowed to Broadcast the Gospel?" *Calvary Pulpit and Monthly Messenger* Ser. 6:2 (January 1944), 3.

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[8] Erik Barnouw, *A Tower in Babel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966); Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting 1922-1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); Sterling and Kittross, *Stay Tuned*; Robert McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[9] Larry K. Eskridge, "Only Believe: Paul Rader and the Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, 1922-1933" (M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1985), 116.

[10] Owen Young to Macfarland, 6 November 1926, Records of the National Council of Churches and Federal Council of Churches, archived at the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Department of History, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter NCC) 18-17-24.

[11] M. H. Aylesworth to Macfarland, 21 February 1927 (Macfarland declined Aylesworth's offer to send over a radio from NBC), NCC 18-17-24.

[12] Macfarland to Julius Rosenwald, 7 May 1927, NCC 18-17-24.

[13] Charles S. Macfarland, "Radio and Religion," radio address, n.d., NCC 18-18-2.

[14] Hal Erickson, *Religious Radio and Television in the United States, 1921-1991: Programs and Personalities* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1992), 80-81, 135; Robert Moats Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick: Preacher, Pastor, Prophet* (New York: Oxford, 1985).

[15] Sweet, "Communication and Change," 61;.

[16] "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Religious Radio Committee," 6 February 1928, NCC 18-17-24.

[17] Sterling and Kittross, *Stay Tuned*, 575-580.

[18] Kenneth Cox, "The FCC, the Constitution, and Religious Broadcast Programming," *George Washington Law Review* 34 (December 1965): 196-218; p. 201.

[19] Federal Radio Commission, *Third Annual Report* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1929), 24; quoted in Schultze, "Evangelical Radio," 293. Evangelical historians often claim that the FRC canceled religious licenses or rejected application claims from individual churches. The regulatory climate of the late 1920s is frequently exaggerated by religious historians: see for example, Schultze, "Evangelical Radio," 293-295; Ben Armstrong, *The Electric Church* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1979); J. Harold Ellens, *Models of Religious Broadcasting* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974); George H. Hill, *Airwaves to the Soul: The Influence and Growth of Religious Broadcasting in America* (Saratoga, CA: R & E Publishers, 1983); Barry Siedell, *Gospel Radio* (Lincoln, NE: Good News Broadcasting Association, 1971); Mark Ward, Sr. *Air of Salvation: The Story of Christian Broadcasting* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker

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Books, 1994). In fact, the FRC/ FCC licensed many stations to religious organizations over the years, among them Moody Bible Institute in Chicago (WMBI), First Presbyterian Church in Seattle (KTW), Liberty Street Gospel Church in Lapeer, Michigan (WMPC), the Methodist Radio Parish, Inc., in Flint, Michigan (WMPR), Christian Catholic Church in Zion, Illinois (WCBD), the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel in Los Angeles (KFSG), the Lutheran Laymen's League in St. Louis, (KFUO), Wayland Baptist College in Plainview Texas, and the Southwestern Theological Seminary in Brownwood Texas. Source: Rosell H. Hyde, "Statement of Commissioner Rosell H. Hyde," 1 September 1948, Board of National Missions, General Department of Mission, Interpretation and Mass Communication/ Mass Media, Department/ Division of Radio and Television/ Mass Media, Records 1926-1971 (Record Group 303.2), Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Department of History, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (hereafter BNM) 303.2-11-64; see also Lowell Sperry Saunders, "The National Religious Broadcasters and the Availability of Commercial Radio Time," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1968), and Lloyd R. Brown, "A Survey of the Programming in Full-Time Religious Broadcasting Stations in the United States," (M.R.E. thesis, Biblical Seminary, New York City, 1952).

[20] "Memorandum of Policies of Religious Radio," 2 April 1947, NCC 18-18-1.

[21] Robinson, *Radio Networks and the Federal Government*, 62-63.

[22] Philip K. Napoli, "Empire of the Middle: Radio and the Emergence of an Electronic Society" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1998), 100.

[23] McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy, 14*-28; Stewart Hoover and Douglas Wagner, "History and Policy in American Broadcast Treatment of Religion," *Media, Culture and Society* 19, 7-27.

[24] "Religion and the Radio," *Federal Council Bulletin*, March 1928, 19, BNM 303.2-1-2.

[25] Thomas C. Reeves, *The Empty Church: The Suicide of Liberal Christianity* (New York: Free Press, 1996) 120, 116.

[26] Hadley Cantril and Gordon W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941), 11.

[27] "Religious Radio, Greater New York Federation of Churches," 1931, BNM 303.2-1-2.

[28] "Resolution," 23 April 1928, Greater New York Federation of Churches, BNM 303.2-1-2.

[29] Charles S. Macfarland, "Radio and Religion," radio address, n.d., NCC 18-18-2.

[30] L. M. Birkhead, "Religious Bunk Over the Radio," 1929 pamphlet quoted in Gerald B. Winrod, *Persecuted Preachers* (Wichita, KS: Defender Publications, 1946), 7.

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[31] Willard Johnson, "Intolerance by Radio," in Josephine MacLatchy, ed. *Education on the Air: Thirteenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 1942), 235.

[32] Walter A. Maier, "The Church's Path to Power," in *The Lutheran Hour: Winged Words to Modern America, Broadcast in the Coast-to-Coast Radio Crusade for Christ* (St. Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1931), 167.

[33] Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick*, 384.

[34] Jon R. Stone, *On the Boundaries of American Evangelicalism: The Postwar Evangelical Coalition* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 77-79.

[35] The station licensed to Robert Schuler's Trinity Methodist Church in Los Angeles was denied renewal after his "zealous and at times loose-tongued" attacks on "Catholics, local officials, and judges sitting on current cases." Cantril and Allport, *The Psychology of Radio*, 51; Edward W. Chester, *Radio, Television and American Politics* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969), 233.

[36] James DeForest Murch, *Adventuring for Christ in Changing Times: An Autobiography* (Restoration Press, 1973), 173.

[37] Saunders, "National Religious Broadcasters," 203.

[38] For more on the founding of those organizations and the postwar debates over religious broadcasting, see Tona J. Hangen, "Redeeming the Dial: Evangelical Radio and Religious Culture, 1920-1960" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brandeis University, 1999).

[39] "For the Information of Editors," typescript 2-page report, n.d., NCC 18-17-24. It was just this document which Lowell Sperry Saunders recognized was the key to proving whether fundamentalists' claims against the Federal Council were true, and to which he did not have access when he wrote his dissertation—he said the NRB was unwilling or unable to produce it ("National Religious Broadcasters," 203). Instead, it can be viewed in the records of the Federal Council.

[40] Charles Macfarland to L. W. Boe, 1 May 1929; "A Memorandum from Charles S. Macfarland to the Members of the Conference on Religious Publicity," 7 May 1929; Dorothy P. Cushing to Charles S. Macfarland, 6 May 1929, NCC 18-17-24; Herbert G. Hurrell to Jesse M. Bader, 16 December 1939; Samuel McCrea Cavert to Hurrell, 25 January 1939, NCC 18-17-24; Walter A. Maier to Samuel McCrea Cavert, 18 February 1949, NCC 18-18-2; Samuel McCrea Cavert to Dr. Walter A. Maier, 3 March 1949; W. Glenn Roberts to Samuel McCrea Cavert, 1 April 1949; Samuel McCrea Cavert to W. Glenn Roberts, 3 June 1949; NCC 18-18-2.

[41] Samuel McCrea Cavert to Rev. E. A. E. Palmquist, 22 November 1929, NCC 18-17-24.

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[42] Reeves, *The Empty Church*, 113.

[43] Between 1930 and 1940 this decline accelerated further; membership in the 22 denominations that comprised the Federal Council fell by 7.7% overall. See Henry J. Pratt, *The Liberalization of American Protestantism: A Case Study in Complex Organizations*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972), 28.

[44] George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford Press, 1980), 184-195; Reeves, *The Empty Church*, 105.

[45] Maier, "The Church's Path to Power," 169.

[46] Bruce Bliven, "Sister Aimee," *The New Republic* 3 November 1926, 289.

[47] Charles G. Trumbull, "The Miracle Gospel Broadcast of America," *Sunday School Times* 22 October 1938; reprinted as a tract by the Gospel Broadcasting Association (Los Angeles); p. 5. Charles and Grace Fuller Collection, David duPlessis Archives, Fuller Theological Seminary.

[48] Trumbull, "Miracle Gospel Broadcast," 5-6.

[49] Trumbull, "Miracle Gospel Broadcast," 21.

[50] Radio supplement to the *Brooklyn Standard*, April 1929; Poll taken in 1940 by the American Institute of Public Opinion, both quoted in Chester, *Radio, Television and American Politics*, 28, 46.

[51] Louise M. Benjamin, "Broadcast Campaign Precedents from the 1924 Presidential Election," *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 31:4 (Fall 1987), 449-460; Mary S. Mander, "The Public Debate About Broadcasting in the Twenties: An Interpretive History," *Journal of Broadcasting* 28:2 (Spring 1984), 167-185).

[52] Chester, *Radio, Television and American Politics*, 19, 27, 224, 230-34.

[53] E.g. Raymond Gram Swing, "Radio and the Future," in Levering Tyson and Josephine MacLatchy, eds. *Education on the Air and Radio and Education 1935* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 4; Seymour N. Siegel, "Handling Controversial Issues," in Josephine MacLatchy, ed. *Education on the Air: Tenth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 1939), 45-46.

[54] Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Vintage Boos, 1982); James A. Brown, "Selling Airtime for Controversy: NAB Self-Regulation and Father Coughlin," *Journal of Broadcasting* 24:2 (Spring 1980), 199-224; Marshall W. Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time: The Radio and Redemption," *Journal of Popular Culture* 22 (Fall 1988): 33-47; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of*

Upheaval (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960); Wallace Stegner, "The Radio Priest and His Flock," in Isabel Leighton, ed. *The Aspirin Age, 1919-1941* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1949), 232-257.

[55] Cited in Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time," 33.

[56] Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 94-95.

[57] Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 20.

[58] Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 100; After CBS changed its policy in 1932, it inaugurated the sustaining-time program "Church of the Air," perhaps at the urging of a "delegation of bishops." Source: Brown, "NAB," 201.

[59] Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 119.

[60] Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 20.

[61] Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time," 46; Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 237-238; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 83.

[62] Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 238; Schlesinger, 20.

[63] Coughlin's entrance into politics was precipitated by Hamilton Fish's invitation for Coughlin to testify in a Congressional hearing as an expert witness on communist domestic subversion; see Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 102. Fish, incidentally, in that same time period could also be found attacking the Federal Council, in speeches like "Americanism vs. Communism" broadcast over CBS radio; see Hamilton Fish, "Americanism v. Communism," March 1936, NCC 18-8-24.

[64] Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 239-240.

[65] Tyson and MacLatchy, eds., *Education on the Air and Radio and Education*, 5.

[66] Ibid., 4.

[67] MacLatchy, ed., *Education on the Air: Tenth Yearbook*, 45-46.

[68] Historians disagree on who Coughlin's core audience was. A membership study of the National Union for Social Justice and the Radio League of the Little Flower would be an invaluable contribution. Some, like Marshall Fishwick, emphasize similarities between the NUSJ and rural populist organizations to suggest rural Protestants supported Coughlin's cause. Coughlin's "millennial solutions," argued Fishwick, appealed to Protestants with "years of Bible reading and fundamentalist revivalism" under their belts. Wallace Stegner portrayed Coughlin's listeners as a fair cross-section of America, while Alan Brinkley argues Coughlin drew in Appalachian Protestant migrants working in the Michigan auto industry. Arthur Schlesinger, however, argues out that urban Catholics were his core audience, especially since he wasn't heard on radio in the Bible belt before his broadcasts turned isolationist and xenophobic.

Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time," 45-46; Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 236; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 96, 200-201; and Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 26.

[69] Quoted in Brown, "NAB," 203.

[70] Walter A. Maier, *Winged Words for Christ*, 128.

[71] Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 250.

[72] "Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention of the National Association of Broadcasters," September 19-21, 1927; p. 19 (Hotel Astor, New York City), FCC File 89-6: "National Association of Broadcasters prior to 1928, New York City/ March 17, 1927-December 31, 1927; quoted in Brown, "NAB," 208.

[73] Brown, "NAB," 214.

[74] Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting, 1921-1934* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 9.

[75] See also Napoli, "Empire of the Middle: Radio and the Emergence of a Electronic Society" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University 1998); Brown, "NAB," 209-210.

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[77] "The Code of the National Association of Broadcasters/ Adopted by the 17th Annual Convention of the NAB/ July 11, 1939," (Washington: National Assoc. of Broadcasters, 1939), 5, FCC File 89-6: "National Association of Broadcasters, June 28, 1939-October 20, 1939;" quoted in Brown, "NAB," 211.

[78] Sol Taiahoff, "NAB Adopts Code, Demands, ASCAP Action," *Broadcasting and Broadcast Advertising*, 15 July 1939, 7-8 and 13-14; quoted in Brown, "NAB," 212.

[79] MacLatchy, ed., *Education on the Air: Tenth Yearbook*, 54.

[80] Quoted in Brown, "NAB," 212.

[81] Stegner, "The Radio Priest," 253; Brinkley, *Voices of Protest*, 267.

[82] Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time," 45.

[83] Letter of Samuel McCrea Cavert to Frank R. Goodman, 13 June 1939. NCC 18-17-24.

[84] Letter of Samuel McCrea Cavert to NBC Vice-President John Royal, 29 July 1936. BNM 303.2-1-2.

[85] Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time," 34.

[86] MacLatchy, ed., *Education on the Air: Tenth Yearbook*, 67.

[87] Chester, *Radio, Television and American Politics*, 169-174, 182.

[88] Napoli, "Empire of the Middle," 144.

[89] McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy*, 252-255.

History

In Search of African-American Identity: A Comparison of the Early Black Press with the Oral Tradition

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In Search of African-American Identity:

A Comparison of the Early Black Press with the Oral Tradition

> "We smile, but O great Christ, our cries
> To Thee from tortured souls arise.
> We sing, but oh, the clay is vile
> Beneath our feet and long the mile;
> But let the world dream otherwise,
> We wear the mask."
> – Paul L. Dunbar

In 1846 the New York *Sun* published editorials that proposed curbing Negro suffrage in that state.[1] Black businessman Willis Hodges wrote a reply, published only after he agreed to pay $15 and run it as an ad. When he complied, the newspaper modified his editorial, and when Hodges protested, a staff member told him that the "*Sun* shines for all white men and not for colored men."[2] The staffer added that if Hodges wanted the African-American cause advocated, he should publish his own newspaper. In response, Hodges, in 1847, established the newspaper, *The Ram's Horn*.

Other early black newspapers had a similar history as *The Ram's Horn*, created to provide a forum for black issues largely ignored by mainstream newspapers. However, often these were solely middle-class issues. This paper details how the editors of the early black newspapers succeeded in furnishing a home for expression of middle-class black issues, but failed to provide a forum for the majority of blacks.

Introduction

Many early historians tried to place the focus of the early black press as exclusively abolitionist papers.[3] However, Bernell Tripp stated that while all the newspapers covered slavery, the stated purposes of these newspapers placed a greater emphasis on civil rights, pride, unity and the progress of the black race. [4] Researchers such as Frankie Hutton agreed with Tripp that the papers covered other issues besides slavery.[5] No work to date has examined the early black press through the prism of class, however.

Historian Michael Gomez noted the disparity of class in African-American society: a middle class which sought integration into the dominant society, and the majority of lower class blacks who sought a separate, distinct identity.[6] To understand each class, this paper examines both the early black press, which illustrates the attitudes of the middle class, and the oral tradition, which represents the lower class. The oral tradition considered in this paper was not the oratory skills of a Frederick Douglass or Sojourner Truth, but rather the folk stories, passed down from generation to generation. Historian Lawrence Levine contended that without folk sources "it is impossible to understand the history and culture of the bulk of black Americans."[7]

The newspapers in this study include the editorials of: *Freedom's Journal* (known as *Rights of All* for its last six issues), 1827 - 1829; *Weekly Advocate* (two months later renamed *Colored American*), 1837-1841; and *North Star*, 1847-1851 (the *North Star* later merged with other papers to become *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, 1851-1859). These New York city-based newspapers were selected because of the prevalence of the state in the newspaper business of this time period[8] and because of the general consensus of historians on the importance of these papers.[9] *The Ram's Horn*, while important, was not explored because the views of its leading editorialist, Frederick Douglass, were more prominently displayed in his own paper.

I examined the newspapers' editorials to determine common topics, threads among the papers that all covered in earnest. Then, I analyzed the wording of these editorials to gauge the editors' opinions and thoughts regarding these topics. A comparison of these "stories" by the editors were then compared to the oral stories that covered the same topics.

Black Press – "Ink is the blood of the printing press." - John Milton

Historian Roland Wolseley defined the criteria for the designation "black press" as: 1) blacks must own and manage the publication; 2) the publication must be intended for black consumers; and 3) the publication must serve, speak and fight for the black community.[10] While black publishers and editors unquestionably ran all the newspapers studied in this paper, some commentators have suggested the readership of the black press consisted mainly of whites.[11] However, the two editors of the *Freedom's Journal* estimated that there were 500,000 free African Americans living in the United States in the 1820s and that half of them could read.[12] In addition, Gunnar Myrdal found that the development of the black press resulted, in part, from the rise of the black literary class.[13] Herbert Apetheker added that 1,700 of 2,300 subscribers to the abolitionist Boston *Liberator* were black; *Freedom's Journal*, with an all-time high in subscriptions of 800, could likewise have a majority of black readers.[14] Similarly, other newspapers in this analysis, although they had white readers, also had a large contingent of African-American readers.[15]

With regard to these readers, if they were middle class (black or white), then should not the newspapers only address issues that concerned this group? However, all of the newspapers, in their own editorials, claimed to speak for what they referred to as the "black community" as a whole, ignoring the distinction between classes. For instance, in the first issue of *North Star*, Douglass included an editorial, "To Our Oppressed Countrymen," which outlined his aims:

> While our paper shall be mainly Anti-Slavery, its columns shall be freely opened to the candid and decorous discussion of all measures and topics of a moral and human character, which may serve to enlighten, improve, and elevate mankind. Temperance, Peace, Capital Punishment, Education - all subjects claiming the attention of the public mind may be freely and fully discussed here.[16]

By their own proclamations, the early black newspapers were not simply a news-gathering net, they were designed to speak for the black community.

Freedom's Journal/Rights of All

By the 1820s, the African-American population in the North consisted of free men and runaway slaves, all seeking a better way of life. While some may have thought they had found a reprieve in New York since the state had abolished slavery on 4 July 1827,[17] they still had obstacles to overcome. The editor of the New York *Enquirer* argued that blacks should not have such a responsibility as freedom. When the editor refused to print Rev. Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm's response to his attacks, the two pooled their resources and began publishing the *Freedom's Journal* in 1827.

Neither possessed newspaper experience. Cornish, a Presbyterian minister, was born in Delaware and reared in Philadelphia and New York, and had organized the first black Presbyterian Church in Manhattan after graduating from the Free African School. Russwurm, a half-black Jamaican, was a graduate of Bowdoin College, one of the first blacks to graduate from college in the United States.

Freedom's Journal's first issue contained news from Haiti, Sierra Leone and other items such as the first installment of "Memoirs of Captain Paul Cuffee" (a black Bostonian who owned a trading ship staffed by free blacks), a sixteen-stanza poem on "The African Chief", and an advertisement for the "B.F. Hughes' School of Colored Children of Both Sexes." Later issues had articles on Toussaint L'Ouverture, liberator of Haiti, on poet Phyllis Wheatley, and articles on and by Bishop Richard Allen. The newspaper usually devoted only two of its sixteen total columns to current news. The remaining columns contained personal profiles, moral lessons, poetry and advertising.

On 14 September 1827, Cornish resigned, citing health reasons (but also possibly from a disagreement with Russwurm over colonization).[18] As the fatigue of running the newspaper alone wore Russwurm down, he eventually left the paper and the country for Liberia in early 1829, became superintendent of the public schools, editor of the *Liberian Herald*, and from 1836 until his death in 1851, governor of the Maryland Colony at Cape Palmas. Cornish returned to his editorial duties after Russwurm's departure and changed the name of the paper to *Rights of All.* Despite Cornish's continued emphasis on the need for a means of communication between black Americans, a lack of financial support by the latter part of 1829 forced him to dissolve *Rights of All.*

Weekly Advocate/Colored American

Media historians have noted that few papers of consequence emerged between *Freedom's Journal* and *Weekly Advocate.*[19] Founded by Phillip A. Bell in January 1837, *Colored American* was originally named *Weekly Advocate.* Like the editors of *Freedom's Journal*, Bell, one of New York city's leading black businessmen – operating an office which aided blacks in locating domestic positions – had no journalistic experience. Two months after its founding, Samuel Cornish renamed the paper the *Colored American* when he became editor.

Subsidized by abolitionist Arthur Tappan, the paper still found financing precarious and required numerous donations from various abolitionist groups to stay in business. The newspaper included articles on abolition, the importance of industriousness, culture, morality, education and suffrage. Continuing the theme started by *Freedom's Journal*, the *Colored American* ceased publication in 1841 due to lack of community support.

North Star

The newspaper, part of Douglass's plan for "renovating the public mind, and building up public sentiment, which should send slavery to the grave, and restore 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness' to the people with whom I had suffered," was financed by $2,175 Douglass had raised from friends in Great Britain and the United States.[20]

The first issue appeared on 3 December 1847 with a masthead that proclaimed, "Right is of no Sex - Truth is of no Color - God is the Father of Us All, And All We Are Brethren." This issue included reports on the proceedings of the National Convention of Colored Americans held in Troy, N.Y.; black suffrage; a Henry Clay speech against the United States acquiring more land in which slavery would be introduced; and an open letter to Clay from Douglass opposing Clay's position on colonization. Douglass, like most abolitionists after 1830, believed that the promoters of colonization merely wished to secure slavery practices by removing free blacks from the country.

The newspaper's first page was dedicated to the full text of anti-slavery speeches. The second page contained editorials by Douglass, James McCune Smith, and William G. Allen, a teacher at Central College in New York, while the remaining two pages generally featured announcements, items clipped from other sources – such as poetry, literature reviews, and anecdotes – and advertisements. In 1851, *North Star* merged with the Gerrit Smith-financed *Liberty Party Paper* and the name changed to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*.

Journalism from 1827-1851 – "In the long fierce struggle for freedom, the press, like the church, counted its martyrs by thousands." – U.S. President James Garfield.

The advocacy version of the black press fit the modus operandi of the "partisan press" of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. "Neutrality in this country and age," said the *Richmond Times and Compiler* in 1844, "is an anomaly."[21] The 1850 census classified only five percent of America's newspapers as "neutral and independent" – as opposed to the other category, "political."[22]

Yet newspapers of the 1820s through the 1840s also differed slightly from earlier periods of partisanship due in part to the Industrial Revolution, which lowered the cost of producing newspapers and, combined with the rise in literacy, created a rise in the number of papers. The desire by marketers to use this new forum to advertise to the now easily accessible "common man" led to the development of a "commercial press."[23] Whereas the partisan papers served the political elite, the commercial press addressed the whole populace. This press did not stray beyond narrow characterizations of life under capitalism, perhaps because of the publishers' drive to maximize profits by avoiding political controversy. This attitude helped marginalize social reform movements, by asserting implicitly that to ignore or trivialize them was an eminently fair and reasonable act, because they fell beyond the political pale.[24]

Early black editors mimicked some of the mainstream commercial press's tendencies, especially the propensity to minimize working class interests.[25] This propensity prevented the early black press from forming a voice for lower class African Americans (i.e., working class free blacks and slaves), but instead caused them to focus almost exclusively on middle-class issues.[26] The editors also mimicked the partisan press in that they advocated these middle-class issues.

Newspaper Editorials Compared To Oral Tradition – "If we cannot be an elevated people here ...we are at great loss to know where, all things considered, we can be." - *Colored American*

Although the newspapers covered other issues besides slavery, this issue did provide a main topic of discussion for the editors. The early black press argued against slavery through the ideals of the American Revolution, while the lower class African Americans coped with slavery through folk stories.

Many Africans in America before 1830, not in a position to denounce the duplicitous nature of the Europeans, spoke in tales understandable only to those who shared similar experiences, allowing them to express their rage and desolation without fear of reprisal. For one (more educated) class of blacks who matured after 1820, however, events in a more immediate past, such as the Haitian Revolution and the emergence in the New World of a self-governing black Republic (1803); the abolition of the slave trade (1808); and the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies (1834), replaced a personal memory of slavery. As a result, this class of free blacks confronted their future better informed of contemporary circumstances, better able to envision and debate alternatives to their condition, and better prepared to take collective action to achieve common goals than any previous generations of African Americans.[27]

Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm, editors of the *Freedom's Journal*, grew up with this generation. They asserted the duty of the *Freedom's Journal* was to "vindicate our brethren, when oppressed: and to lay the case before the publik."[28] But as for specific action, the editors remained vague:

> And while these important subjects shall occupy the columns of the *Freedom's Journal*, we would not be unmindful of our brethren who are still in the iron fetters of bondage. They are our kindred by all the times of nature; and though but little can be effected by us, still let our sympathies be poured fourth, and our prayers in their behalf, ascend to Him who is able to succour them.[29]

Now with a voice, still inhibited by white society but louder than any of those in bondage could be, the black press chose to advocate a revolution within the system of slavery, not of the system. *The Ram's Horn* editorial, "Slaves of the South, Now Is Your Time," exhorted the slaves to combat slavery and its accompanying tyranny. It advised slaves not "to murder the slaveholders; but we do advise you to refuse longer to work without pay. Make up your minds to die, rather than bequeath a state of slavery to your posterity." Remarkably easy for the editors to say since they did not face the physical oppression of slave masters. This lack of appreciation for the constraints of slave life, and economic oppression of free working class blacks, became a recurring theme among those editors espousing passive resistance to the institution, believing adherence to democratic principles would eventually win over the tyranny of slavery.

This adherence to democratic principles provided insight into the black press' middle class bias. Historian Ira Berlin noted that "freedom within the context of slavery gave free Negroes something to protect and transformed them into a conservative caste."[30] Free blacks found that their social advancement hinged on their ability to distinguish themselves from the mass of slaves. The closer free blacks could approximate the white ideal, the greater their chances of acceptance. Thus the central paradox of African American life was that while full equality depended on the unity of all blacks, free blacks could realistically obtain more substantial gains within the existing society by standing apart from the slaves.[31]

This dual nature of the race, based on class, had been seen by Africans in America before. The majority of Africans captured for the slave trade had fallen into hostile, black hands by either warfare or kidnapping, creating a caste of black elite who sold fellow

Africans to European slave traders on one hand and the slaves on the other. To deal with the complicity of African slave traders, the slaves developed, over time, the King Buzzard story. The King Buzzard, symbolizing all those Africans involved in the selling of fellow Africans to Europeans, was an entity with no place in heaven or hell, punished by the "Great Master" to wander eternally over the face of the earth, constantly wandering alone in the form of a buzzard with carrion for food.[32]

Michael Gomez summarized this point: "Although the black community placed ultimate blame on white folk for the institution of slavery, it reserved unique and specific condemnation for the African trader." [33] Africans felt betrayed because the trader had sold his own; Africans had a responsibility to one another by virtue of the fact that they were all Africans. Definitely not in this duplicitous a manner, but still with a misunderstanding of the needs of their fellow African Americans, the early black press saw the responsibility of free blacks to those in slavery as one of model citizens that proved African Americans could be good Americans.[34] An editorial in the *Colored American* argued that the position freed men "hold in [the] community is a prominent one – all eyes are upon us. Many philanthropic minds are waiting the result of the measures of our improvement before they enlist in the holy cause of the slave. And many tyrants are waiting and praying for our deeper degradation as an opiate for their consciences and an extenuation for their guilt."[35] This cautious position may have demonstrated to working class blacks that the newspapers did not speak to or for them.

At least one of the newspapers attacked slavery in a more straightforward manner. Douglass, arguably the harshest critic of slavery among the early black editors, ran the following editorial against slavery:

> For two hundred and twenty-eight years has the colored man toiled over the soil of America, under a burning sun and a driver's lash - plowing, planting, reaping, that white men might roll in ease, their hands unhardened by labor, and their brows unmoistened by the waters of genial toil; and now that the moral sense of mankind is beginning to revolt at this system of foul treachery and cruel wrong, and is demanding its overthrow, the mean and cowardly oppressor is mediating plans to expel the colored man entirely from the country.[36]

Except for Douglass, the editors argued against slavery in an acquiescent manner. Hutton provided an enlightening explanation for why some of the editors refused to attack slavery too harshly: "Perhaps they felt that constant criticism of America's contradictory democratic ideal or of their own race's shortcomings would be detrimental to the overall struggle for freedom."[37] On the other hand, while all the editors argued against slavery, though none as eloquently or viciously as Douglass, they mainly used their pages to try to develop a new black identity in the United States that would help with the Americanization of free blacks. Therefore, they could not, or would not, attack any American institution too sternly.

Black Identity – "... we are not always to be downtrodden people ..." *Colored American*
"Am I American? Am I a Negro? Or can I be both?" – W.E. B. Du Bois

While the slavery issue appeared in all the newspapers, the editors seemed to sense their energies would probably be more effectively spent by offering uplifting messages to help free blacks get on with the trying business of elevating the race. Therefore, the editors focused on providing an identity for African Americans, based on color and the most positive aspects of the race. *Freedom's Journal*'s first editorial, "To Our Patrons," demonstrated the editors' desire to finally speak for themselves on the issue of representing African Americans:

> We wish to plead our cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publik been deceived by misrepresentations, in things which concern us dearly, though in the estimation of some mere trifles; for though there are many in society who exercise towards us benevolent feelings; still (with sorrow we confess it) there are others who make it their business to enlarge upon the least trifle, which tends to the discredit of any person of colour; and pronounce anathemas and denounce our whole body for the misconduct of this guilty one.[38]

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The term "American" would become a key component in this quest for an African-American identity. Its importance became evident when Cornish changed the name of the *Weekly Advocate* to indicate the emphasis on black's demands for full citizenship rights. In the following editorial Cornish explained the reason behind the change of the paper's name to *Colored American*:

> In complexion, in blood and in nativity, we are decidedly more exclusively 'American' than our white brethren; hence the propriety of the name of our paper, *Colored American*, and of identifying the name with all our institutions, in spite of our enemies, who would rob of us our nationality and reproach us as exoticks [sic].[39]

Only through certain changes in character could African Americans become part of mainstream society. For instance, Russwurm wrote:

> Sooner or later, if we wish to ever to be respected as a body, a great change must take place in our daily economy. We must make it evident that our principal aim is the moral improvement of our people and youth; that all the frivolities of every varying fashion are completely done away, and in its place, we have adopted the handmaidens industry and economy."[40]

Work harder, don't look so lazy, maybe then you will be accepted seemed to be the editor's message.

Douglass, in defense of Constitution, wrote that the "revered Constitution standing alone, and construed only in the light of the letter, without reference to the opinion of the men who framed and adopted it, or to the nation under it, from the time of the adoption until now, is not a pro-slavery instrument."[41] This faith in democratic ideals and the Constitution on one hand, and direct action on the other, repeatedly would challenge the racial unity espoused by the editors.[42]

In developing a black identity in America, the underlying thread among the editors' major concerns lay the desire to improve the lifestyle of black Americans – whether in protesting injustices to the black population, attempting to correct those oversights, or to improve their financial situation and moral character – assuming that the pinnacle of all African Americans was integration.

No issue so resonated with the early black press editors' ideals of morality and illustrated the dichotomy of the black elite and the majority of African Americans as did self-help. Cornish considered self-help to be an important part in the elevation and refinement of blacks; therefore, he often encouraged industriousness and diligence in the columns of the *Colored American*. Through work, each "one for himself, must commence in the improvement of his condition. It is not in mass, but in individual effort and character, that we are to move onward to a higher elevation."[43]

To move to this "higher elevation," African Americans had to make changes. First, they had to abandon former useless practices and "cultivate honesty, punctuality, propriety of conduct, and modesty and dignity of deportment." Second they needed to engage in "untiring habits of industry, the dint of perseverance." Third, they should not spend money on improving outward appearance, but "for the purpose of elevating our character, and improving our condition." Finally, blacks must cultivate their intellect through the "accumulation of knowledge, extensive and solid."[44]

Douglass believed this individual self-motivation was as important to the advancement of blacks as was racial unity. Douglass wrote:

> The fact that we are limited and circumscribed, ought rather to incite us to a more vigorous and persevering use of the elevating menus [sic] within our reach, than to dishearten us. The means of education, though not so free and open to us as to white persons, are nevertheless at our command to such an extent as to make education possible … [45]

Articles directed toward self-help efforts stressed a common message: the white world perceives you as lazy - change your ways to prove them wrong. This message missed the point many freed blacks discovered for themselves in the North – African Americans often did not work, not because of laziness, but due to economic oppression.[46]

The editors saw education as a key component in their self-help strategy. Although Cornish did acknowledge that the opportunity for acquiring an education was more favorable for whites than blacks, he still noted that free blacks should help themselves by raising their voices in protest.[47] In *Freedom's Journal*, he wrote:

> Education being an object of the highest importance to the welfare of society, we shall endeavor to present just and adequate views of it, and to urge upon our brethren the necessity and expediency of training their children, while young, to habits of industry, and thus forming them for becoming useful members of society.[48]

Cornish stressed education as means of overcoming adversity, an another example of his buy-in of American ideals:

> We ought to feel more interested in this subject (education) brethren, we owe it to posterity. We are not always to be a downtrodden people. Our infant sons, should we give them suitable advantages, will be as eligible to the Presidency of the United States, as any other portions of the community; and it is our wisdom, if possible, to give them as ample qualifications."[49]

Not only was this type and quality of education not available to most blacks, it did not even appeal to some, as a review of oral tradition will reveal.

As we have seen, editors of the black press lauded the positives of the African American "community" for inclusion into white mainstream America, and stressed that free blacks could enter this society with individual assiduity, hard work and education – not recognizing or acknowledging the lack of opportunities to do so. Not surprisingly, the editors' message appeared to fail to impress the majority of African Americans who instead took lessons from the tales of Africa to identify themselves. For instance, while the editors espoused education in schoolrooms, many blacks considered "education" the African tradition of telling stories which taught a moral, either implicitly or explicitly.[50]

According to Lawrence Levine, "equation of folk tales with education was widespread among African Americans during and long after slavery."[51]

Perhaps the story "Fatal Imitation" speaks to those who proposed composing an identity through emulation of the white race. The story's main character, a monkey, mimics his master to the point of irritating the master. To teach the monkey a lesson, the master, when noticing the monkey imitating him while shaving, turns the blunt side of the razor to his throat and makes a slicing motion. "Sure enough, when he [the master] gone, the monkey git the bresh and rub the lather all over he face, ... When that monkey through shaving he draw the razor quick 'cross he throat, but he ain't know for to turn it, and he cut he own throat and kill hisself."[52] The message being that it was dangerous for black people to forget who or where they were.

Another example of many African Americans' current state and response to it, and perhaps a remainder of the need for silence, was with the recurring theme of stories about slaves meeting animals that could talk. Reduced to their bare essence these stories follow this pattern: Slave meets an animal that can talk. Slave brings master to see talking animal. Animal doesn't talk, and master beats slave. After the master leaves, the animal tells the slave "ah tol' yuh de othah day, niggah, yuh talk too much."[53]

Although these stories provide an indication of how slaves defined themselves, a distinct people separate from whites, the tales of Brer Rabbit furnish the best evidence of this identification. Robert Pelton contended that Africans used the trickster, such as Brer Rabbit, as a "way of dealing with discontinuity and change so that human movement through time may become not merely repetition, but an enlargement of sacred frontiers" to combine "the healing of the memory and the liberation of the imagination."[54] This trickster was an "image, not of stoic nobility and final defeat, but of a hope so bold that it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy."[55] According to Levine, through the use of these trickster tales from Africa its descendants had "psychic relief from arbitrary authority," could wage "symbolic assaults upon the powerful", and could import "impressions about authority relationships."[56]

Trickster tales consisted of a confrontation in which the weak (Brer Rabbit and the African American) used their wits ("Please throw me in the briar patch!") to evade the strong (whites). The rabbit, like the people who told stories about him, had to make due with what he had, but the Brer Rabbit, and the African American, wanted to advance, not just survive. The Brer Rabbit wanted power, acquired not simply by obtaining material goods, but by manipulating and depraving the strong. By ascribing actions to semi-mythical actors, lower class African Americans overcame the censorship imposed upon them by their hostile surroundings. For many, the tricksters' exploits, which overturned the hierarchy of the world in which they lived, became their exploits; the justice he achieved, their justice; the strategies he employed, their strategies. From his adventures they obtained relief; from his triumphs they learned hope.[57]

Conclusion – "Souls dwell in printer's type." - Joseph Ames

"Fearful responsibility rests upon the head of a public journal," read an editorial from the *Colored American*.[58] This poignant statement illustrated the hardships many of the black newspapers and their editors had to face: financial hardships, verbal threats and physical persecutions.[59] Therefore, any analysis of these journals should begin with praise for their strengths: pioneering the efforts to begin a written voice for black issues and the new, at the time, journalistic standards of balanced reporting.

In addition to these factors, some historians have argued that these editors agitated for change, believing it radical for the pre-Civil War black press to maintain that democracy be extended to African Americans.[60] On the other hand, some commentators have portrayed the black press as conservative and an inhibitory force on the progress of the black protest movement.[61] This paper falls into this camp. The changes the elite blacks wanted did not include changes to a system which had allowed them to reach, while certainly not the pinnacle, at least an acceptable level of American society.

Hutton said, "If what appeared in the black press seemed constructive and positive amid incredibly taut times, it also sounded incredulous to most blacks."[62] Most of the editors seemed to labor from rather idealistic, and perhaps impractical for most, views of what America was and could be for blacks. Why were these editors so positive? Perhaps it was because, as Hutton contended, they believed that blacks would eventually be accepted by white America.[63] Therefore, they used their editorials to sanction and espouse the democratic teachings and ideals of the American Revolution. Conceivably they held these beliefs because they composed the class that had the greatest opportunity to enter mainstream America. Regardless of their reasons, the issues the editors chose to stress did not always resonate with freed blacks, much less slaves. Freed blacks in the South were often threatened with re-enslavement. Freed blacks in the North had to overcome restrictions on mobility (many states had constitutional provisions prohibiting freed blacks from entry), education, occupations, meetings and a variety of other activities. Editorial cries to "try harder" (to be like white America) seemed to fall on deaf ears.

Many slaves of the South, and perhaps many free blacks in the North, used folklore to define themselves.[64] This definition included an identity distinct and hidden from white Americans, summarized by this saying: "Got one mind for white folks to see, 'Nother for what I know is me, He don't know, he don't know my mind."[65] Perhaps this was why attempts by the black press to tie black identity with the institutions, constructs and ideals of American society often did not influence the majority of blacks to change their behavior.[66]

While avoiding confrontation with white leaders on important issues and problems, the black press avoided reporting the rank degradation and deprivation that the masses of blacks had to contend with on a daily basis. They attempted to sell the idea that at least some people of color – the middle class and those aspiring to it – worked together successfully in spiritual unison with America's democratic ideals, even though these principles had little applicability to many African Americans. And by doing so, by attempting to quell negative images and create a positive image of people of color (negative or positive being defined by how well blacks ingratiated themselves into white American culture), the early black press ignored the majority of African Americans.

Having isolated themselves from the black masses and identified with the values of white society, perhaps the black press could never fully win the confidence of the majority of blacks. However, perhaps this analysis is too harsh in that it points solely to the editors – the editors merely mirrored the nature of the relationship of all middle class versus working class blacks.[67] Both classes had to contend with being a transplanted people in a hostile environment. How they chose to define themselves within this environment, a continuum between integration and separatism, was, in part, determined by class.[68] The better educated middle class of African Americans can be lauded for their advancement of the race in terms of oratory, writing, benevolence societies, etc., but they also must be seen through the class prism: by not listening to their cultural heritage, this class of blacks, in charge of the written voice of newspapers, did not speak to, or for, the majority of African Americans.

Endnotes

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[1] A clause in the New York state constitution provided voting privileges for blacks only if they owned $250 in real estate with all taxes paid. By comparison, a white man at least 20 years old could vote regardless of land ownership. A public campaign in 1846 sought to change the clause by popular vote, while the *Sun* advocated a vote of "no." See Irving Garland Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors (Springfield, Mass.: Wiley and Co., 1891), 61, for a more complete discussion.

[2] See Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors, for a more complete recitation of the story.

[3] See e.g., Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors and Roland Wolseley, The Black Press, U.S.A. (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1971).

[4] Bernell Tripp, Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847 (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 1992), 73.

[5] Frankie Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993).

[6] Michael A. Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

[7] Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought From Slavery to Freedom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), xi.

[8] Henry Chase and C.H. Sanborn, The North and South (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 106-107. According to these authors, of the 843 newspapers being published in 1828, 161 were in New York state.

[9] See, e.g., Tripp, Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847; Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, 1827 to 1860; and Wolseley, The Black Press, U.S.A..

[10] Wolseley, The Black Press, U.S.A., 25.

[11] Peter M. Bergman, e.g., in The Chronological History of the Negro in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1969) argued that since only one in 20 blacks could read and write by 1865 than the black press must have been read mainly by whites.

[12] *Freedom's Journal*, 16 March 1827.

[13] Gunnar Mydral, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944).

[14] Herbet Apekether, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States (New York: The Citadel Press, 1951), 86.

[15] Spotty records prevent an accurate description of the size of the audience for these newspapers, or of the composition of these papers' readers.

[16] *North Star*, 3 December 1847.

[17] Carter R. Bryan, "Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," Journalism Monographs 12 (September 1969), 10 - 17.

[18] Since the paper still listed Cornish as "General Agent" after his departure the argument could not have been too grievous. For differing views about the nature and tone of the split see Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., "Our Own Cause: *Freedom's Journal* and the Beginnings of the Black Press," Journalism History 4 (Winter 1977-78), 118-122 and Bryan, "Negro Journalism in America Before Emancipation," Journalism Monographs.

[19] Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson II, A History of the Black Press (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1997).

[20] Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Hartford, Conn.: Park Publishing Co., 1880), 320.

[21] *Richmond Times and Compiler*, 27 August 1844.

[22] http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/table-16.pdf.

[23] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1978).

[24] Margaret Salcetti, "The Emergence of the Reporter: Mechanization and the Devaluation of Editorial Workers." In H. Hardt and B. Brennan, eds., News Workers (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995), 48-74.

[25] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, identified several journalistic characteristics of the early black press that differed from the mainstream press and compared favorably to today's journalistic standards, e.g. balanced reporting.

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[26] For a more comprehensive review of the histories of these newspapers and a recount of the issues they did cover, see Tripp, Origins of the Black Press, Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, and Wolseley, The Black Press, U.S.A..

[27] See Elizabeth Rauh Bethel, The Roots of African-American Identity: Memory and History in Free Antebellum Communities (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 125-126, for a more complete discussion of this new class.

[28] *Freedom's Journal,* 16 March 1827.

[29] *Freedom's Journal*, 16 March 1827.

[30] Kim B. Butler, Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post Abolition Sao Paul and Salvador (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 65.

[31] Ira Berlin, Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 271.

[32] Gomez, Exchanging our Country Marks, 211.

[33] Ibid, 212.

[34] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, for one, makes this argument.

[35] *Colored American*, 22 April 1837.

[36] *North Star*, 26 January 1849.

[37] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, 158.

[38] *Freedom's Journal* , 16 March 1827.

[39] "Proposals and Plan of a Newspaper of Color," *Colored American* , 4 March 1837.

[40] *Freedom's Journal*, 30 May 1828.

[41] *North Star*, 16 March 1849.

[42] See also Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, on this point.

[43] *Colored American* , 22 April 1837.

[44] *Colored American* , 6 May 1837.

[45] "What are the Colored People Doing for Themselves," *North Star*, 14 July 1848.

[46] See, e.g. Berlin, Slaves Without Masters and Apekether, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States.

[47] *Freedom's Journal*, 1 June 1827.

[48] *Freedom's Journal*, 16 March 1827.

[49] *Colored American* , 1 July 1837.

[50] For a more complete discussion of the use of African folklore as lessons by Americans, see J. Mason Brewer, American Negro Folklore (New York: Quadrangle, 1968), Courlander, A Treasury of Afro-American Folklore, Langston Hughes and Arna Bentemps, eds., The Book of Negro Folklore (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1958), Bruce Jackson, ed., The Negro and His Folklore In Nineteenth-Century Periodicals (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967), and Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness.

[51] Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness, 90.

[52] Ibid, 97.

[53] Ibid, 99.

[54] Robert D. Pelton, The Trickster in West Africa: A Study of Mythic Irony and Sacred Delight (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1980), 274-5. See also, W. R. Bascom, "Africa and New World Negro Folklore," in Standard Dictionary of Folklore Mythology and Legend (New York, 1950); Denise Paulme, "The Impossible Imitation in African Trickster Tales," In Bernth Lindsfors, ed., Forms of Folklore in Africa: Narrative, Poetic, Gnomic, Dramatic (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977); and D.C. Simmons, "Specimens of Efik Folklore," Folklore 66 (December 1955), 417-24.

[55] Pelton, The Trickster in West Africa, 276.

[56] Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness, 106.

[57] Levine in Black Culture and Black Consciousness has an interesting discussion about what Brer Rabbit meant to African American slaves on pp. 105-114.

[58] *Colored American*, 28 October 1837.

[59] While none of the editors studied mentioned physical persecution, Elijah Lovejoy, editor of the *Observer*, was murdered in Alton, Ill. for advocating abolition in November 1837 - the same year the *Weekly Advocate/Colored American* was founded.

[60] James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (New York: Bantam, 1968), and Wolseley, The Black Press.

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[61] Thomas Sanction, "The Negro Press," New Republic (April 26, 1943), 108-117; and E. Franklin Frazier, The Black Bourgeoisie (New York: Free Press, 1957).

[62] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, xii.

[63] Hutton, The Early Black Press in America, xiii.

[64] See Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness for a more complete analysis of this point.

[65] Ibid, xiii.

[66] This apparent refusal by lower class blacks to change their behavior was a great source of frustration for the editors as seen by their editorials, e.g. *Freedom's Journal*, 28 March 1828; *Colored American*, 28 October 1837; *North Star*, 16 March 1849.

[67] It could also be argued that the editors merely mirrored the newspapers of the day, however, this would lead into a side argument regarding media hegemony which is better discussed in a separate paper.

[68] See Gomez, Exchanging Our Country Marks for a more in-depth discussion of this point.

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History

EXOTIC AMERICANA:
THE FRENCH-LANGUAGE MAGAZINES
OF NINETEENTH CENTURY NEW ORLEANS

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EXOTIC AMERICANA:
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Introduction

A neglected aspect of American magazine publishing history is that of the French-language periodicals published during the 1800s in that most exotic of U.S. cities, New Orleans. Nowhere else in our nation has there been such a body of periodical literature published in the French language. I have been able to identify a total of forty-two non-newspaper periodicals, the earliest of which was founded in 1827, the most recent, in 1895. The purposes of this study are to identify, categorize, and describe these periodicals and to briefly examine how they fit into the social history of their city. Table 1 lists these periodicals by category, and within categories, by date founded.

Separating periodic publications into magazines and newspapers sounds simple enough but sometimes isn't, especially in the case of the early titles published in New Orleans during the 1820s and 1830s. The preeminent collector of Louisiana's French papers and magazines, the late Edward Laroque Tinker, simply avoided this problem by lumping them all together in his *Bibliography of the French Newspapers and Periodicals of Louisiana* .[1] To place a title in one of these two categories, it was necessary to physically examine issues. Not in every instance did I agree with another earlier scholar, Max L. Griffin, who had worked on the same problem and whose "A Bibliography of New Orleans Magazines" ran in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* .[2]

One cannot simply say that whatever looks like a newspaper is a newspaper, and whatever looks like a magazine is a magazine. More careful distinctions must be made. By general agreement, a newspaper ordinarily is published on a fairly regular schedule, contains a number of different stories per issue, bears a name or title, and usually is made available to a fairly general public. Much the same can be said of magazines, except that a magazine can be published by and for a single organization or other specific group of people having like interests, as opposed to being offered to a more diverse audience. The crux of the matter in separating the one from the other is more a matter of content than appearance, especially in the case of the early titles, some of which seem to be part newspaper, part magazine. In such cases, the distinction is merely a matter of degree. If the publication's editor devoted substantial space to coverage of politics or public affairs, topics usually considered "hard news," then I am inclined to call it a newspaper. Examples are *L'Omnibus* (1840-1841?) and the 1846 miscellany *Le Grelot* (*The Bell*). If, on the other hand, political matters take a decided back seat to literary content and stories on music or theater, then I prefer to class it as a magazine, the kind known as a "miscellany." Although most early American newspapers contained much non-political content, had poetry corners, and often appeared to enjoy trying to entertain their readers, the early newspaper nevertheless tended to concern itself with providing information on fairly recent happenings, however geographically distant. The magazine, while it of course contains items of truly informative value, is, on balance, even more attuned to entertaining its readers than is the newspaper. Making this delicate distinction when examining titles published in the South is especially difficult, in light of a consideration mentioned in Emery and Emery' s *The Press in America*: "Southerners met to enjoy themselves; New Englanders met to improve themselves—and others."[3] One might note that these predispositions carried over to the two regions' choices of periodical literature.

Whether a title is more properly considered a newspaper or a magazine is also problematical in the case of several humor publications that appear in this study. For example, an exhibit in the Tulane library identifies *Le Charivari Louisianais* of 1842 as the nation's first newspaper printed by lithography. Similarly, Loyola University master's candidate Jeanne Marie Garon has called the satirical *Le Carillon* of 1869 a newspaper.[4] Tinker shared her assessment,[5] whereas Griffin[6] and John M. Jones Jr.[7], like myself, regarded it as a periodical. Garon also identified *La Renaissance Louisianaise* as a newspaper, whereas Tinker, in his *Bibliography*, called it a paper on one page and one of New Orleans' three most important periodicals on another.[8] My position is that periodic publications that are entirely or almost entirely devoted to humor or satire are more properly considered periodicals rather than newspapers, regardless of their frequency of publication or their physical format.

Determining whether some of these publications were magazine or newspaper, then, was one of the challenges of this project. Other difficulties included my limited grasp of French, which necessitated securing the expert translation help of a Paris-born retired professor of French.[9] Another difficulty was the very limited library holdings of these periodicals. Supported by a travel grant from Virginia Tech's College of Arts & Sciences, I made two one-week visits to the Louisiana Collection at Tulane University's Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, which holds the most extensive collection of this material, and spent one week at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Mass., the second most important collection.[10] Also visited were the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans and the library of Duke University. Although these collections hold full runs of a few of the more important of these periodicals, holdings of most of the remaining titles are small indeed, limited in certain cases to only a prospectus or a single surviving issue.

A handful of these periodicals identified by Tinker or Griffin as held at Tulane, the Antiquarian Society, or the Louisiana State Museum can no longer be located in those repositories. Examples are *Le Moustique* (1892), once held at the Louisiana State Museum, and *La Revue* (1895), which had been donated to the Antiquarian Society but was later sold or otherwise disposed of inasmuch as the Society's focus in on pre-1876 periodicals and newspapers. A final impediment was that some of these rare periodicals were in such fragile condition that librarians would not allow me to make photocopies.[11]

General Historical Background

The original exploration of what is now Louisiana was done by Robert Cavalier de La Salle in 1682. It was La Salle who named the territory for the French king Louis XIV. Actual settlement of Louisiana was begun in 1698 and 1699 by two brothers, Iberville and Bienville. The new colony was managed by three French governors until, in

1717, its governance was placed under the Company of the West. A year later, Bienville was named governor, upon which he began the settlement of New Orleans, or, in French, Nouvelle-Orléans, which he made the colony's capital in 1723. Around this same time, a group of roughly 400 Germans re-located from the Arkansas territory to a settlement near New Orleans, which helps account for the eventual presence in that city of several newspapers and two magazines published in German.[12]

France's lack of success in the Seven Years' War, coupled with domestic corruption, cost that nation her American colonies. Louisiana was given to Spain by the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, signed in 1762 by Louis XV. In the following year, Louis ceded all France's possessions on the western bank of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, to Great Britain, which also received from Spain the land immediately east of the Mississippi, plus Florida. Three years after the treaty of Fontainebleau, Spanish officials arrived in Louisiana but did not take firm charge of its government. In 1768, the French and German residents of the colony rebelled against Spanish rule and expelled the Spanish governor, but in 1769, Spain sent a contingent of troops and re-took Louisiana. More than a decade thereafter, in 1779, Spain declared war on Great Britain and thereby entered the American Revolution. After the war, in 1802, Spain ceded Louisiana to France, and in 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte sold the colony to the United States for eighty million francs. At this time the population of New Orleans stood at roughly 8,000.[13]

No magazine had been published in New Orleans or elsewhere in Louisiana by this time, but the city had seen the establishment of a few newspapers. The first was *Le Moniteur de la Louisiane* in 1794, founded during Spanish rule but published weekly in French. Two more papers were founded in the city in 1803: *Le Télégraphe* (1803-1812) and *The Union, or New Orleans Advertiser & Price Current* (1803-1804). The *Gazette de la Louisiane* appeared in 1804. Another paper was founded in 1807, two in 1808,[14] and in 1809, printed in French and English, began *L' Ami des Lois*. Writing in *The Standard History of New Orleans*, J.M. Leveque traces various changes in name and ownership of this newspaper: *Le Louisianais et L'Ami des Lois, L'Argus, Le Républicain de la Louisiane*, and finally, in 1835, *L'Abeille* (The Bee). Other early papers of note were *The Louisiana Advertiser* (1820), *The Weekly Advertiser* (1824, later as *The True American*), and finally, the venerable *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, founded in 1837. The founding of these newspapers is mentioned here to provide chronological perspective for the appearance of the city's early magazines.

French-language Magazines Appear in New Orleans

In the prologue to his *Bibliography*, Edward Tinker remarks that French-language newspapers and magazines "sprang up in Louisiana like mushrooms and died like flies" during the 1800s, but that for years, they were "the only cultural influence to reach a large part of the state's population isolated by its ignorance of English."[15] It is easy for Americans today to forget just how French the city and its state were prior to the Civil War. In addition, three distinct waves of French journalists came to New Orleans during the first half of the 19th century. The first occurred in the century's initial decade following an uprising in Santo Domingo, where these journalists had been working. The second involved exiles from France in the 1830s, and the third group was cast out of

France by Napoleon III in and shortly after 1848. French immigrants and Creoles, then, founded a total of 42 non-newspaper periodicals during the 1800s.

Miscellanies: New Orleans' Earliest Periodicals Having the Characteristics of Magazines

The first of the city's magazines were founded in the 1820s and 1830s. I choose to call them "miscellanies," inasmuch as their content was so various in subject matter. Their physical appearance was not much different from the weekly newspapers of their day, but their content strikes me as more entertainment-centered and therefore more nearly magazine-like.

Earliest was *Le Propagateur Louisianais, Journal Hebdomadaire du Cercle Social* (*The Louisiana Propagator, Weekly Journal of the Social Circle*), founded in 1827. Exactly what social circle its owner, Edouard Louvet, intended his two-page publication to serve could not be ascertained, but I suspect that the *Propagateur* was aimed at rather an elite audience, as opposed to the somewhat more general audience that a newspaper would have had even then. Louvet had moved the publication to New Orleans from New York City, where he had published it since 1825 under a different title, *Le Réveil*. The one issue of *Le Propagateur* I was able to locate, at the Antiquarian Society, contained but three articles, none of which were on political topics. The cover page was devoted to a new teaching method, pescalozzi, which had originated in Switzerland. On page two appeared a shorter article on "Persian literature" and a curious, introspective article titled "Where Are You Going?" The *Propagateur* was an entirely serious, high-toned periodical. Perhaps it was overly serious, inasmuch as it folded in July of the same year as its founding.

Tinker's bibliography notes that the *Propagateur*'s demise was satirically celebrated with an "obituary" in its rival, the four-page *Le Passe-Tems, Macédoine Politique et Littéraire*,[16] which began publishing six times a month shortly after the former periodical was founded. In French, "macédoine" means a medley or mixture, and "Tems" appears to be a shortened form of what would more correctly be Temps, or time. The title translates to *The Pastime*. It offered a mixture of not only the political and the literary, but the serious and the comic. One issue, for example, contained a make-believe conversation between Napoleon and one of his generals. Bonaparte allows, with comic understatement, that he might have done some things differently, but that he "was never ambitious." *Le Passe-Tems'* editor seemed more concerned with entertaining than with describing contemporary public affairs, and a good deal of content looked back at historical events, as well.

The next two such miscellanies appeared in 1834. Each had the physical appearance of a weekly newspaper, but each was too full of merriment to be newspaper-like in content. One is *Le Renard Démocrate* (*The Democratic Fox*), published weekly by J.J. Regnard. The only extant issues are two held by Tulane's library. The entire top third of page one was filled with the beautifully engraved image of a wily fox. The periodical's four pages contain poems, theater reviews, and articles on non-political topics. Second of these was *Le Corsaire Louisianais* (*The Louisiana Pirate*), also a weekly. The woodcut for its flag shows a jaunty pirate standing beside a canon on the deck of his sailing ship. Virtually all the copy seemed to be written tongue in cheek rather than straight-on in the manner of most newspapers.

Each of the preceeding miscellanies appeared early in the city's periodical history—prior to 1840. The fifth, oddly, appeared much later, in 1892. It was titled *L'Observateur Louisianais (The Louisiana Observer), Revue Mensuelle, Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire*. Volume VI, No. 3 of this monthly leads with an article headlined "His Majesty the Mississippi," a river that, according to the article's writer, is forever putting engineers in their place. Following is an article critical of the U.S. press compared to that of most European countries. U.S. papers, says the article, are filled with mere gossip, not with dignified presentations of factual detail. Another article in the same issue decries the water cure as a humbug. *L'Observateur* appeared until 1897.

Magazines of Humor and Satire

Ever a cosmopolitan city filled with jollity, New Orleans was home to five humor magazines during the 1800s. The earliest was *Le Moqueur, Journal des Flaneurs* (*The Scoffer, Journal of Strollers*) of 1837, a weekly now held only by the Louisiana State Museum. Four numbers have survived, the last of which was No. 31, dated September 10, 1837. All its copy—articles, verse, and snippets—appear devoted to humorous amusement.

Most graphically unusual of all the periodicals in this study was *Le Charivari Louisianais* of 1842, which was not set in type, but was handwritten and then lithographed. An exhibit at the Tulane library identifies *Le Charivari* as America's first newspaper to be printed by lithography. I, however, would classify it as more of a magazine in that clearly its whole purpose was to amuse and satirize. Its purpose is immediately clear, even to one who reads no French at all, by the appearance of its cartoon-style illustrations. Three issues have survived. The main target of the *Charivari*'s satire was the Whig party. Page 3 of the July 8, 1842 issue is given over to a cartoon of an "agitator Whig" who is regaling other citizens at election time while his carriage driver looks on, bored.

From July 1846 and into early 1847 appeared *Le Taenarion, Satires Périodiques,* edited and published by Félix de Courmont. Each semi-weekly issue contained a piece of satirical verse written by the editor. In December 1846, for instance, appeared the poem "L'Amour," which poked fun at love. Other satirical poems in subsequent issues included "La Cupidité" and "Les Solliciteurs."[17] I have been unable to verify the derivation of the word Taenarion, which perhaps refers to Taenarus, a place in southern Greece known as a religious shrine.

Fourth was the bitingly satirical *Le Carillon, Journal peu politique, encore moins littéraire et pas du tout sérieux* (*The Warning Bell, a journal slightly political, even less literary, and not at all serious*), founded in 1869 by Pierre Forester Durel, a Paris-trained Creole surgeon who served the Confederacy during the Civil War. He began his weekly after four years of Reconstruction. His favorite targets were the city's new black leaders, most especially lieutenant governor César C. Antoine. Tinker described *Le Carillon* as "a much needed safety valve for the hate and pent up bitterness of the Creoles"[18] during this period. In the December 15, 1872 issue began an especially bigoted item known as the "menagerie series," in which the black members of the Louisiana legislature were depicted as animals, such as the jackal, baboon, gorilla, mule, etc. This series was continued in the following three issues. Other similar treatments appeared in other sourthern periodicals and newspapers of this time, such as John Moncure Daniel's *Richmond Examiner*.

Tight finances caused Dr. Durel to close *Le Carillon* for two years, but in 1872 Mme. Durel pawned some family diamonds to allow her husband to resurrect his anti-black and anti-Carpetbagger periodical, which then ran from November 1872 until May 1875, shortly prior to Dr. Durel's death. In the March 30, 1873 issue, the subtitle was changed to *Organe des Populations Franco-Louisianais*, and with that change, *Le Carillon* became more newspaper-like and less a humor periodical.

The final such magazine appeared in 1892: *Le Moustique* (*The Mosquito*), *Journal hebdomadaire, devoué aux intrêts et à l'amusement du public*. The American Antiquarian Society once held this title, which had been given to it by Edward Tinker, but it was later sold. Sadly, no record appears to exist as to the present whereabouts of these last-known copies of *Le Moustique*.

Medical Periodicals

It might seem surprising that four French-language medical journals were published in New Orleans during the 1800s, but for the consideration of the city's moist, semi-tropical climate. Such a climate lent itself to a succession of epidemics in which tropical and malarial diseases killed hundreds, sometimes thousands of the city's residents yearly. Yellow fever was a terrible killer, especially in 1817, 1819, 1820, 1832, 1847 and 1853, the worst year of all, when nearly 8,000 died from it. Cholera was especially rampant in 1832, killing roughly one-seventh of the city's population, and in 1877 smallpox killed 2,000.[19] These and other medical problems made medicine a particularly salient topic in this epidemic-racked city.

The first of New Orleans' medical journals was founded in 1839: *Le Journal de la Société Médicale de la Nouvelle-Orléans*. It was a quarterly, but only four numbers appeared. The journal was revived in 1859 as a monthly review, but the Civil War interrupted the regularity of its appearance and brought the journal to its end in 1861.

Second was the even more short-lived *L'Union Médicale de la Louisiane*, a monthly review founded by Dr. Charles Delery in 1852. It appeared for a single year. According to Edward Tinker, an argument between Délery and another prominent physician, Dr. Faget, concerning whether blacks and Creoles were immune to yellow fever, became so bitter that Délery challenged Faget to a duel.[20] Faget declined, however, citing religious objections to the code duello. Délery's position was that no one was immune to this disease. The Antiquarian Society's copy of this periodical is bound in book form, 322 pages plus a table of contents.

The two remaining medical periodicals published in French were devoted to homeopathic medicine. The first was the monthly *Le Practicien Homoéopathe, Journal de Medecine Homoéopathique*, published by Louis Caboche during parts of 1857 and 1858. The second was *L'Homión, Revue de la Doctrine Homoéopathique*, published somewhat irregularly, 1859-1861, by a Dr. Taxil of the Homeopathic College of the West in Cleveland, Ohio.

Literature and the Arts

Given New Orleans' role as the cultural center of the French-American subculture, it is hardly surprising that the largest category of these magazines—a total of 17—was devoted to literary, dramatic, and other artistic interests. The earliest such periodical appears to have been *L'Entr' Acte* (*The Intermission*), *Journal Politique et Littéraire*, a weekly founded in 1834. This periodical is not mentioned by earlier researchers, but I happened upon its Vol. I, No. 1 at the Antiquarian Society. In 1850 and 1851 appeared a second, unrelated *L'Entr' Acte*, a tri-weekly that dealt mainly with theater and literature and that ran lithographs of New Orleans actresses. It was published by A. Britsch and edited by L. Placide Canonge. A third, also unrelated periodical of the same title ran in 1870, published by Alfred Mercier and edited by L.E. Marchand. Only the Antiquarian Society holds the second *Entr'Acte*, and only Tulane the third.

The next title in this category was *La Créole, Gazette des Salons, des Arts, et des Modes* (*Gazette of the Salons, of the Arts, and of Fashions*), founded in 1837 as a semi-weekly. In France, the term "gazette" implies a periodical of light, entertaining content, as opposed to "journal," which usually indicates more serious purpose. Comment on the city's theater scene predominates in this magazine, with shorter pieces on current fashions, and page 4 of each 4-page issue contained the words and score of a song, more often than not, a sentimental ballad.

In 1841 appeared *La Lorgnette* (*The Opera Glasses*), another 4-page semi-weekly devoted mainly to theater, but containing some verse and literary commentary. It was edited by L. Placide Canonge and was published through 1843, but only during the theater season, which excluded the summer months. Its eye-catching flag depicted two satyrs flanking an opera box, from which fashionable patrons peer through opera glasses.

The next such magazine, *L'Album Littéraire: Journal des Jeunes Gens, Amateurs de Littérature* of 1843, is unusual in that most of its writers were black. It began as a 12-page monthly, changing about a year later to semi-monthly publication, and it appears to have been the city's first strictly literary magazine, making it doubly a good candidate for further research.[21]

From 1846 to 1848 appeared *La Revue Louisianaise*. Tinker ranks this literary weekly as one of the three most important of all Louisiana's French-language magazines. The typescript of a partial index is available in English at both Tulane and the Antiquarian Society. The *Revue* is more inclusive of the city's whole cultural scene, mainly concerned with literary matters, but also interested in history, biography, fashion, the other arts and even, to a lesser degree, the court scene and politics. A good deal of local poetry appears, and beginning in Volume II are a series of caricatures of prominent New Orleanians. *La Revue* was published by La Société Littéraire et Typographique of New Orleans.

L'Éventail (*The Fan*) was another magazine of general cultural content that apparently was published during 1846 and 1847. No issues are extant, but the Antiquarian Society has its prospectus, dated November 1846. The scope of this semi-weekly was listed as a sort of subtitle: "Littérature, Politique, Arts, Theatre, Sciences, Fantaisies, Modes."

For one year, 1849, appeared *Veillées Louisianaises* (*The Louisiana Night Conversation*), a Sunday literary supplement to the New Orleans newspaper *La*

Chronique. Both were published by Dr. Charles Testut. This magazine was used mainly to serialize historical novels having to do with Louisiana. It is now available to researchers only bound as a book, and only at Tulane's library.

In 1851 was published, however briefly, *L'Album Louisianais, Revue Littéraire et Artistique*, edited and published as a weekly by Louis Audibert. Tinker suggests that *L'Album* might not have continued past its maiden number, which led with an article and lithograph on the city's new cathedral.

Tulane holds one very fragile 4-page issue of the 1854 *Le Coup-D'Oeil* (*The Wink*), copiously subtitled *Revue hebdomadaire de la ville, des Théatres, des Arts, de la Mode, des Publications Nouvelles, des Magasines et des Journeau de Paris*. It was edited during its brief existence by Aristide Geraud and M. de Grandfort and appears to have been devoted mainly to theater reviews and verse.

Published in both French and English editions was *La Loge D'Opera* (*The Opera Box*), a 2-page *journal littéraire* published in 1856 and 1857. Edward Clifton Wharton edited the English version, Charles de la Bretonne the French. Content of the two editions differed somewhat from one another. Despite the musical allusion in the title, this weekly's main interest was literary, as the subtitle indicated. An unusual item was a series describing, with no names attached, the city's prominent society ladies ("Gallerie des Jolies Femmes").

During the years 1861-1871 appeared an important weekly periodical titled *La Renaissance Louisianaise, Revue hebdomadaire, Politique, Scientifique et Littéraire*. Its first editor was Emile Hiriart. Henri Vignaud had charge of its literary content, and no fewer than nineteen associate editors, which included the well known literary figure

Charles Gayarré, are listed in the flag. Page 8 of the first issue features a long poem by C. O. Dugué, titled, after the periodical's own title, "La Renaissance." The ten-year run of this periodical indicates its relative success.

Even more important and successful was the bi-monthly *Les Comptes-Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais* (*Publications of the Louisiana Athenaeum*), which appeared in 1876 and, with some interruptions, is still being published today. The diminished importance of the French language and French culture in Louisiana after the Civil War and Reconstruction led to the creation, in 1875, of a Creole support group calling itself L'Athénée Louisianais. Tinker quotes the prominent literary figure Lafcadio Hearn, who worked in New Orleans for some years, as saying that only a few U.S. magazines published in English were the equal of *Les Comptes-Rendus*. The periodical's purposes were to encourage scientific, literary and artistic inquiry, and to promote local talent. It initially published original material written in French, papers delivered at the society's meetings, work taken from French magazines, and French-language material from earlier Louisiana sources. Prime movers behind this periodical were lawyer-physician Alfred Mercier, the Athénée's first president; his brother, Armand Mercier; Dr. Charles Turpin; Civil War general Pierre G. T. Beauregard and several other prominent Creoles.[22]

L'Opéra et ses Hotes (*The Opera and Its Guests*), 1881, was a large-format, 8-page magazine that featured articles on the stars of the city's French opera. Illustrations for these articles are unusual in that photographs of the singers were literally pasted onto the magazine's pages. Only Tulane holds this title. Opera figures prominently in this and other of the city's arts magazines inasmuch as New Orleans had a flourishing opera scene and was probably the city that introduced this musical form to the United States.

Founded in 1887 and edited by A. Meynier was the weekly *Le Diamant (The Diamond), Publication Illustrée*, held only at Tulane. How long this title continued in publication could not be discovered. It is noteworthy for its local verse, interesting accounts of Louisiana history, and various songs and proverbs written in Negro-French dialect.

Last in this category, and the final French-language magazine to be founded in nineteenth-century New Orleans, was *La Revue*, a monthly published by Mlle. Marie Roussel. Its avowed purpose was to encourage use of the French language. The short-lived 40-page magazine apparently was folded after Mlle. Roussel's June 1895 marriage to the Count de Calcinara. Only Tulane holds this title.

Club Organs

Four French-language New Orleans periodicals were devoted to the interests of fraternal organizations or clubs, three to Freemasonry and one to a politically oriented organization known as "the French Commune." Certainly the city had its share of secret societies, by far the oldest of which is Masonry, active in Louisiana since the late 1700s.[23] Most of New Orleans' early Masons were French by birth or ancestry, and the first of that order's periodicals in the city was *Le Franc-Maçon Louisianais*, published monthly during 1845 and 1846 by Charles David. Second was *Le Bulletin de la Maçonnerie Louisianaise*, a semi-monthly of the Scottish Rites Council of Louisiana in 1869 and perhaps for a short time thereafter. No extant files are known. Third, *Le Progrès et Liberté, Bulletin de la Franc-Maçonnerie en Louisiane*, was founded at the beginning of

1886 by Gaston Dupoy de Hours, intended as a monthly. It is not known whether the periodical continued to be published after its initial issue. Whereas the rest of this periodical was in French, the lower portion of page 10 and all of page 11 were in English, giving a brief explanation of Free Masonry, written by R.L. Desdunes, whose purpose was to speak out against bigotry and "social tyranny" during Reconstruction.

The fourth club organ was the monthly *La Commune de la Nouvelle-Orléans*, founded in 1871 by Le Club International et d'Assistance Mutuelle de la Nouvelle-Orléans. No known file of this magazine exists.

Other clubs and secret societies in the city, none of which published club organs in French, include the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, the Order of the Seven Wise Men, the Knights of Honor, the American Legion of Honor, and The Ancient Order of United Workmen. Still others were the Knights and Ladies of the Golden Rule, the Order of Heptasophs,[24] and the Ancient Order of Druids.

Women's Magazines

Only two nineteenth-century French-language magazines were published specifically for women readers. One, *La Violette (The Violet), Revue Musicale et Littéraire, Publiée sous le Patronage des Dames de la Louisiane*, appeared variously as a monthly and semi-monthly during 1849 and early 1850. "Dieu et les Belles" was the cover motto chosen by its publisher, Charles de la Bretonne, who used the nom de plume Jacques de Rouguiny and who specialized in writing about music.

The first article in No. 1 was on the pianists of New Orleans, and concert news appeared on page 4. On pages 5 and 6 were "Galerie des Jolies Femmes de la Nouvelle-Orléans," and 10 and 11 contained a fashion article signed by "Mephistopheles." On page 12 of the 16-page magazine was "Poesie de la Musique," in French text, but preceded by a Shakespearian quote in English:

> The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treason, strategems and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let not such man be trusted.

The other women's magazine, *Le Messager des Dames, Journal de Littérature et des Modes*, was a weekly, dates unknown, inasmuch as no issues appear to have survived. The Tulane library holds a copy of the magazine's prospectus, however.

Other

Published in both French and English during 1848 was an education-oriented periodical titled *Le Polyglotte* (meaning one who speaks many languages) and subtitled *Journal Scientifique et Littéraire*. Its founder was a priest, the Abbé Malavergne of the

College of New Orleans. The primary purpose of this periodical seems to have been to promote the Abbé's method of teaching writing and literary analysis.

Strangest of all these 42 periodicals was *Le Spiritualiste de la Nouvelle-Orléans, Echo Mensuel.* This "monthly echo," which espoused the mid-century fad of spiritualism, was published by Joseph Barthet during 1857 and 1858. A "medium" who claimed to be able to communicate with the spirit world, Barthet used a method of "interviewing" that would make today's tabloid writers blush: he would "contact" famous individuals who long had been dead and write up their "revelations." Barthet was also able to coax poetry from his "Amis Invisibles." The magazine's cover page showed two disembodied hands clasping one another, presumably representing contact between the corporeal and spirit worlds.

Three More Probable Magazines—No Copies Extant

Three more titles appear likely to have been magazines but are unavailable for inspection of their content. The earliest of these is *L'Âne* (*The Donkey*) of 1835, which is listed as a weekly by Tinker. *L'Âne* may well be a miscellany similar to the other such periodicals described in this study.

Second is *Le Penseur* (*The Thinker*), published in or around 1847, according to Tinker. Third is *Le Cétacé* (*The Whale*), a weekly published for part of 1848 by Hippolyte Debautte, again, according to Tinker. Perhaps future researchers will succeed in locating copies of these fugitive publications in some obscure archive or collection.

Conclusion

The history of New Orleans' French-language periodicals echoes the history of magazine publishing in the American South in general. Few of the entire region's magazines enjoyed a long life, unless supported by an organization of some kind, as were many English-language religious magazines, or as was *Les Comptes-Rendus*. Both southern magazines in general and the magazines described in this study sought to foster the culture and traditions of their region, but these New Orleans periodicals had the additional aim of trying to preserve the use of the French language so as to perpetuate, or at least extend, the Creole subculture. This felt need was especially important following the Civil War when acts of the state's legislature[25] provided that French could no longer be used to report court news. Use of French had been greatly reduced in New Orleans by 1900, but the language lives on with enormous charm in the names of the people, streets and institutions of that truly distinctive city.

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[1] Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1933. Readers are reminded that libraries divide periodic publications into 1) newspapers and 2) periodicals. Note, too, the various meanings of "journal," which sometimes refers to a newspaper, or to a scholarly or scientific periodical, or to a diary-like publication. In France, "journal" often denotes a newspaper, but not always. Also, in our own country and language, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* is almost universally regarded as a magazine.

[2] *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 18(July 1935): 491-556.

[3] (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1988): 18.

[4] Garon, "Wit as a Weapon in a New Orleans Creole Weekly: *Le Carillon's* Place in the Southern Journalism of Defiance," a paper delivered before the American Journalism Historians Association, Mobile, Ala., October 1997.

[5] Tinker, p. 24..

[6] Griffin, p. 498.

[7] Jones, *The Carillon Satires: November 2, 1873-May 17, 1874* (Camden, N.J.: privately printed, 1978): 5.

[8] Tinker, pp. 71 and 73.

[9] Prof. Paule Kline now lives in retirement in Blacksburg, Va. She has taught at Radford University, Virginia Tech, and Hampden Sydney College.

[10] Edward Tinker of New Orleans donated a substantial part of his collection of French-language periodicals and newspapers to the Society.

[11] Examples are *La Renard Démocrate* and *La Revue*, held only at Tulane.

[12] The newspapers include the dailies the *Deutsche Zeitung* (1850-1855), the *Louisiana Staats-Zeitung* (1850-1866), the *Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung* (1866-1872), and the *New Orleans Tägliche Deutsche Zeitung* (1872-1877). Weeklies were the *Wochentliche Deutsche Zeitung* (1859-?), the *Sonntags-Blatt der New Orleans Deutsche Zeitung* (1866-1907), and the *New-Orleans Wochentliche Deutsche Zeitung* (1866-1876). The two magazines were the *Echo von New Orleans* (1850-?) and *Unserer Lustigen Blätter* (1891). Issues of both magazines are avaliable at the Tulane library.

[13] An excellent source on the city's general history is Henry Rightor, ed., *The Standard History of New Orleans* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1900).

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[14] These newspapers were *Le Courier de la Louisiane* (1807-1879), *L'Echo du Commerce* (1808), and *La Lanterne Magique* (1808).

[15] Tinker, p. 5.

[16] Tinker, p. 68.

[17] Both these poems appeared in August 1846.

[18] Tinker, p.25. The word "Creole" has no universally accepted definition but is usually applied to French-speaking Louisianians of French or other European ancestry.

[19] See Dr. Gayle Aiken's chapter, "The Medical History of New Orleans," in Rightor, ed., *The Standard History of New Orleans*, pp. 203-315.

[20] Tinker, p. 19.

[21] See John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973): 130-137. This source describes a community of wealthy black New Orleans Creoles who often contributed to some of the city's French-language literary magazines. Two who published in *L'Album* were the poet Camille Thierry and poet / novelist Joanni Questy. Other examples include Michel Seligny, who published verse in *La Renaissance Louisianais*, and Lucien Mansion, who did likewise in *Les Comptes-Rendus*.

[22] A great deal of information on this magazine is available. See Reginald Ford Trotter, *Index to the Comptes Rendus l'Athénée Louisianais and a General History of the Organization*, M.A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1952. Also see Ruby Van Allen Caulfield, *The French Literature of Louisiana* (New York: Institute of French Studies, Columbia University, 1929).

[23] A history of this organization's efforts in Louisiana is James B. Scot's *Outline of the Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Louisiana* (New Orleans: privately published, 1912).

[24] This fraternal lodge had its own English-language organ in New Orleans, *The Heptasoph* (1870).

[25] Acts of Louisiana Legislature, No. 29 (February 21, 1866) and No. 188 (October 21, 1868).

Table 1

EXOTIC AMERICANA: THE FRENCH-LANGUAGE MAGAZINES OF 19TH CENTURY NEW ORLEANS

Miscellanies:	**Year Founded**
Le Propagateur	1827
Le Passe Tems	1827
Le Renard Démocrate	1834
Le Corsaire Louisianais	1834
L'Observateur Louisianais	1892
Humor / Satire:	
Le Moqueur	1837
Le Charivari Louisianais	1842
Le Taenarion	1846
Le Carillon	1869
Le Moustique	1892
Medical:	
Journal de la Société Medicale	1839
L'Union Médicale	1852
Le Practicien Homeopathique	1857
L'Homíon	1859
Literature and the Arts:	
L'Entr' Acte	1834
La Créole	1837
La Lorgnette	1841
L'Album Littéraire	1843
Revue Louisianaise	1846
L' Éventail	1846
Veillées Louisianaises	1849
L'Entr' Acte	1850
L'Album Louisianais	1851
Le Coup d' Oeil	1854
La Loge d' Opéra	1856
La Renaissance Louisianaise	1861

L' Entr' Acte	1870
Les Comptes-Rendus	1876
L' Opéra et ses Hôtes	1881
Le Diamant	1887
La Revue	1895

Club Organs:

Le Franc-Maçon Louisianais	1845
Le Bulletin de la Maçonnerie	1869
La Commune de la Nouvelle Orléans	1871
Le Progrès et Liberté	1886

Women's:

La Violette	1849
Le Messager des Dames	date unknown

Other:

Le Polyglotte	1848
Le Spiritualiste	1857

Content Unknown:

L' Âne	1835
Le Penseur	1847?
Le Cétacé	1848

History

Peggy Charren: Bohemian Activist

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Children's Television in the 1960s

Children's television in the late 1960's was a colorful array of cartoon superheroes and talking animals. [1] On Saturday mornings, anvils and sticks of dynamite continued to foil the likes of Wile E. Coyote and Sylvester the Cat.[2] Rebellious crows, *Heckle and Jekyll*, painted the town and the crime-solving dog, Scooby-Doo, continually found bad guys.[3] Faster than a speeding bullet, kids were glued *to Roger Ramjet, Marine Boy, and Aquaman.*[4] The A. C. Nielsen television ratings company estimated that some 15.6 million children tuned in to these shows each Saturday morning.[5] Clearly, children watched these shows.

Though children flocked to these programs, researchers worried about the shows' content. S. I. Hayakawa ,a television researcher, found that children became alienated from their parents because of television. He also found that children became bored easily with human conversation.[6] Not only did the programs make children less gregarious; they also made them more violent in some cases. In the 1960s, Albert Bandura found that children acted out violence they viewed on television.[7] Educational programs like *Romper Room* and *Captain Kangaroo* taught children letters and numbers, but they were the exception.[8]

By and large, broadcasters were airing programs not to positively influence children, but to captivate them with colors and music. Once captured, advertisers were free to lie out their wares for unsuspecting eyes. During the commercial breaks from these shows, children were bombarded with spots for sugary cereals and plastic toys.[9]

Children's television was profitable to advertisers. Companies like Mattel, General Mills, and Kellogg's spent about $70 million in advertising each year. Saturday morning programs, alone, garnered $20 million in 1969.[10] However profitable these programs were to the advertisers the shows did not benefit the young viewer. The combination of these advertisements and the poor programming of children's shows the created a "wasteland" on television.[11]

Peggy Charren would change this wasteland. Her upbringing, family, and humor combined to make a housewife from Newton Massachusetts a formidable opponent for the government and the broadcast industry. In the late 1960s, this Massachusetts mother recognized the lack of educational programs available to her own children and decided to do something about it. Charren, organized Action for Children's Television (ACT), a group of that sought government regulated increases in children's television and decrease in advertising. Charren and ACT laid the groundwork for children's television regulation in the 1970s by presenting its case to Congress and the Federal Communications Commission.

Charren and ACT are important to children's broadcast programming. Policy makers credit Charren and ACT with shaping the current children's programming and advertising regulations. Although ACT was one organization, it is an example of the impact advocacy can have on government. Peggy Charren's story is one of familial influence and personal determination. Although she is not a household name, the strides she has made as a concerned mother are worthy of recognition.

This paper analyzes Charren's life and the role she played in changing children's broadcasting. First, the paper will look at research that has been done on children's television history and advocacy. Then the paper will examine the advertisements and children's programming aired before ACT that made Peggy Charren want to change the content. Third the paper will look at the steps Peggy Charren and ACT took to accomplish their goals.

Literature Review

Research into the history of children's television programming regulation is limited. Plenty of information exists about the history of these shows. In his book Jeffery Davis looks at 43 years of broadcasting of children in Children's Television, 1947-1990. While his book deals with over 200 shows, he does not mention the regulations involved in creating some of these shows.

The research that has been done on regulation is limited to short periods of time. In her dissertation, May Ann Ruthowski looks at Newton Minow's reign at the FCC. Children's programming is a part of her dissertation covering the regulation of prime time series and news and public affairs. Teresa Strombotne's dissertation focuses on toy based programs on television. The present study focuses on the period before the toy-based programs.

A comprehensive look at the history of regulation in children's television found is Heather Hendershot's dissertation. Endangering the Dangerous, which looks at regulation and censorship of children's of children's television from 1968 to 1990. Her dissertation uses archival footage, oral history, and government documentation to discover how television portrayed violence, sexism, and racism. This dissertation differs from the present stud because Hendershot's work is a qualitative dissertation seeking what television messages mean to its young viewers.

There is a gap in the research dealing with the contribution of Action for Children's Television to children's television. Along with ACT, its founder, at times challenged the FCC almost single-handedly. This study looks at the role of Charren in the eventual success of children's programming regulation using the historical methodology.

A Bohemian, not a Bolshevik

Peggy Charren was born March 9, 1929.[12] She had a relatively comfortable life in New York City. She lived with her Jewish middle class family in an apartment on Madison Avenue. Although her parents were not activists, they had a "good sense of values." She credits her family with her spirit of activism and

> a mother and a father who cared about what we now call civil rights and the civil rights movement before there was a civil rights movement, who understood that there were tremendous inequities in the way the country dealt with people. . . it was that kind of bringing up that prepares you to look at what was wrong with society and maybe I can fix it.[13]

Her teen years were ones of much reflection and not rebellion. She spent time in Greenwich Village and thought of herself as a "Bohemian, not a Bolshevik."[14]

In school, Charren memorized Milton's *Areopagitica*. Since that time, free speech theorists, like Milton, became her heroes. After college she received a true education in free speech. She graduated from Connecticut College with a BA in English in 1949.[15] That same year, her uncle Sydney Buchman, a vice president of Columbia Pictures "got caught up in McCarthyism." She refers to the times when she feared that her phone might have been tapped as the "black days."[16] Although she was always interested in the rights of others, this scare raised her political ire.

In 1951, she married Stanley Charren. In the late 1970s, when he decided to start a windmill company, Mrs. Charren's friends said, " Peggy tilts at them and he is going to make them."[17] Charren held several jobs before founding Action for Children's Television in 1968. None of them had anything to do with the law or children's television. She ran the film department of a television station, an art gallery, and a framing shop.[18] In the early 1960s, she started Quality Book Fairs to run children's book fairs in schools.[19] As a lover of books, she knew she could run them better than the one's she had attended with her daughter Debbie. She enjoyed the business and kept it running for several years.

However, when her second daughter, Claudia, was born she elected to stay home to be with her daughters. Charren loved working, but could not find good childcare.[20] She needed a project to keep her busy until both girls were in school.

While at home she considered what children's television was offering her daughters. She was dissatisfied with its content.

> For the most part, the broadcast industry was little monster cartoons for kids. . . if they weren't monster cartoons they were some dumb little cartoon. But there weren't a lot of choices. Adult television had many more choices.

Charren thought she could help add a few choices for kids by alerting the broadcast industry that families would like more choices on children's television. Among the proposed choices would be a few shows based on the books she sold during the book fairs. Charren naively planned to work on this project for only a few years, to keep her until her youngest daughter started school. However, it was this project that started Action for Children's Television, an organization that would last for 24 years.[21]

Summoning her neighbors to her sitting room one evening, Charren and the group discussed what they could do to add more choices to children's television programming. Among her 20 guests were women and men who wanted to be active in the organization. However, Charren points out that the leadership of the group dwindled because these members, like Charren, were primarily women who had families and children. ACT's core leadership in the beginning was Charren, Evelyn Kaye Sarson, Lillian Ambrosino, and Judith Chalfen.[22]

He who destroys a good book destroys reason himself[23]

The first words Peggy Charren told her newly formed organization were that changing television did not include taking the existing shows off the air. Censorship could not be a part of ACT's mission. Charren credits her support of the First Amendment as being an integral part of ACT's success.

> I think the reason I lasted this long, the reason the press calls me, the reason I have had the successes I had, whatever they were, is because I am so violently opposed to censorship. . . When a parent turns off the TV, the kid might think it is censorship, but that's not what I'm talking about. . .

Changing television, for Charren, meant adding quality choices for parents and children. ACT was founded on the principle that choices and diversity were the ultimate in free speech of the audience.

In 1968, Charren discovered the Communications Act of 1934 and, with that, the hook on which ACT hung its mission. In part, the Communications Act of 1934 placed controls on broadcasters. The Act says that in exchange for a license, broadcasters serve the public interest, convenience or necessity of the audience. Charren contended that broadcasters were not serving the interests of children by their programming.[24] Charren also discovered that the Communications Act of 1934 created the Federal Communications Commission, the regulatory agency of broadcasting. Until this time, Charren did not know there was a FCC. Now she knew what buttons to push to make change.

Charren saw broadcasting as a library. A librarian who shelved only "creepy" comic books or carried one side of an issue in her library would be fired. Broadcasters, like librarians, have to offer choices to serve the public interest. ACT's goal was to make sure broadcasters met the interests of the children in the audience.

These dames are bananas

Charren knew that the only way to get members and money was to get the press's attention.

> A lot of our actions went along with letting the press know what we were doing and sometimes even designed to make noise. Not like chaining ourselves to trees, but even small things. [25]

One of the group's first activities was a picket of Channel 56, the CBS affiliate in Boston. CBS was cutting the hour-long Captain Kangaroo to a half an hour. Charren and ACT were outraged because "it was the only daily program for children on television that you could hope your kids would get. It didn't seem to make much sense." ACT decided to rally around this cause.

Charren remembers the picket as being "little." There was a teenager with a guitar, eight mothers and children with balloons. As the group circled the station's parking lot, they chanted, "Captain Kangaroo, we want you."

> Obviously, the magnitude of this was not particularly exciting, but the fact that we were doing this was exciting. . . There was something very funny about how this looked. And if I didn't know me, I'd think these dames were a little bananas. It hardly seems like something that would change the broadcast industry in America.

Although Charren looks at this event as being humorous, this was also the first time she realized this project was going to be a challenging undertaking. The management of the station wrote down the license plate numbers of the balloon carrying picketers. In another instance, one of the little girls in the picket had to use the bathroom and the station refused to let her in to the building.

If there was anything Charren learned from her picket it was that to make a loud noise, ACT needed more members and money. ACT had membership campaigns and direct mailings. The organization was run with the household funds of the members, but in order to be successful in needed more. Charren received a grant from the Carnegie Foundation. In less that one year, ACT had over 200 dues-paying members.[26] The membership reached 40, 000 within three years of ACT's beginning. ACT also pulled together a coalition of 50 organizations that cared about what ACT was doing.

ACT had gained the attention of a large number of citizens and funding organizations. According to Charren, she knew that the money and the membership would legitimize ACT in the eyes of the government. With a large constituency, she would be able to have standing to receive the government's attention. Among the organizations on ACT's side were religious organizations, and the National PTA. Charren and the other ACT leaders Lillian Ambrosian and Evelyn Kaye Sarson used this new found clout to meet with network executives, the Senate, and the Federal Communications Commission.[27]

With its first grant, ACT conducted a content analysis of children's programs in the Boston area. The group found that there was an excessive amount of violent cartoons available to children. For example, in a *Popeye* episode titled "Oils Well that Ends Well," the hero crushes a car and the villain, Brutus, with his bare hands. Commercialism was also rampant. Even an educational show, like *Romper Room*, caused some concern for ACT. This program featured the hostess selling products and toys during the shows.

ACT also looked at the how broadcasting worked and determined that broadcasting was financially reliant on the eyes glued to the screen. The group decided that this structure needed an overhaul if children's television were to improve.[28] With this information in hand, Charren and ACT formed a proposal to take to the industry and the government.

Start at the top

In early 1970, ACT tried to take its case to the three major broadcasting networks. Although NBC and ABC rebuffed the mothers, CBS listened. In the meeting, ACT applauded CBS's attempt to bring child sensitive programming to its audience. In particular, the women pointed to the acclaimed special, J.T.[29] *J.T.* centered on a black child who tries to make the best of his poor upbringing in Harlem, New York. [30] The CBS executives acknowledged the value of the program, but repeatedly stated that the program was prohibitively expensive to produce.[31] The network spent $300, 000 on this show. In the past they had spent about $7,000 for shows aired at that time.[32]

In the same meeting, ACT requested that there be no commercials during programming designed for children. While CBS acknowledged the special needs of children, they refused to forsake the revenue in children's programming. ACT asked that CBS stop using performers to sell or use merchandise during children's shows. The group suggested that CBS appoint a department head to oversee the content CBS was sending to children.

At first glance the response from then CBS vice president for programming Michael Dann gave the women could be characterized as little more than a pat on the head. Dann said the women, "made an articulate case and were among the most constructive and logical (he) had heard. The give and take were first-rate."[33] However, CBS took heed of some of ACT's words and appointed a head of children's broadcasting later that year. In a little more than a year, ACT had already made changes in the way a network was run. Yet, its biggest strides were still to come.[34]

In January of 1970, Charren and ACT requested a meeting with the FCC commissioners.[35] As Charren later found out, her ACT's meeting with the commission was the first time the public had asked to meet with the commissioners. At the meeting Charren voiced her concerns with the lack of attention broadcasters paid to interests of young viewers. Along with problems with the content of these shows, ACT also raised concerns about the amount and types of advertising children were exposed while watching television.

On February 5, 1970, Action for Children's Television petitioned the FCC to improve children's television. In the petition, ACT asked that there be no sponsorship and commercials on children's programs. The proposed guidelines prohibited performers to use or mention products, services or store by brand names. Under ACT's proposal, stations would have to provide daily programming for children at least 14 hours a week as part of their public service requirement. ACT also recommended that programming be age group specific.[36] ACT wanted television stations to meet these requirements to keep their licenses.

Later that same month, the FCC announced that it would try to formulate a rule regarding the petition. At this time, letters and studies in support or opposition of the proposal could be filed with the commission. In eleven months, the commission received over 2,000 letters supporting ACT's proposal. Most of the letters of support expressed a desire for better programming and less advertising on children's programs.

There were 20 letters from broadcasters and advertisers in opposition to the proposal. Most of the opposing letters claimed that the provisions violated the broadcasters and advertisers First Amendment rights. Broadcasters said the provision would take away their right to program their stations, which is found in the Communications Act of 1934.[37] Broadcasters contended that commercials were vital to children's programming because without the advertising revenue the programs would dry up all together. In short, eliminating commercials from children's programs would be an undue financial burden to broadcasters.[38] To this statement, Charren responded that, "if that is going to bankrupt (them), (they) should be in the shoe business" and not in broadcasting.[39]

January of 1971, the Federal Communications Commission considered these letters and responded that there was not enough information for it to make a decision. The Commission asked established another inquiry on the matter. Specifically, the Commission wanted more information about children's television programming and advertising. The Commission asked what was considered a reasonable amount of television children should watch daily. It also wanted to know how much advertising was available to children and how those ads were presented to children.[40]

While the Commission gathered data, Charren and ACT continued their own work. In October of 1971, the Federal Communications Commission turned down ACT's request that deceptive advertising. The rejection was done, in part, because the FCC was not the traditional regulatory authority over advertising. The FCC stated that the Federal Trade Commission was equipped with the expertise to handle the issue. ACT petitioned the FTC on December 15, 1971. It asked the FTC to eliminate all toy advertising. The group also requested that advertisements for vitamins and drugs from children's programs be banned. In January of 1972, ACT sent a petition to the FTC addressing the amount of non-nutritional food advertised to children.[41]

According to ACT, advertisements, while acceptable on adult television, were deceptive to young children. The group contended that children did not have the mental maturity to "analyze and discount the normal puffery" in children's television.[42] For this reason, ads were "uniquely deceit(ful)"to children.[43]

A New Climate . . . Self –Regulation

Soon after ACT stated its case to the FCC, the regulators nd the broadcasters changed their attitudes. In September of 1971, the chairman of the FCC , Dean Burch, expressed "cautious optimism" about the impending children's television season. He knew the upcoming season responded to the calls for more than cosmetic changes in children's broadcasting.

> In this new climate, as I test the winds, the over-all thrust is to emphasize the positive, to regard television for children as a potential for good. The corollary is that an increasingly mobilized, increasingly concerned, increasingly critical audience is watching."

Burch also took this opportunity to thank ACT for lobbying for improved quality.[44]What Burch meant was that the networks took the work of ACT to heart. The networks were attempting to reach children because now the children had a voice in the watchdog organization. The networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, tried, at varying degrees, to incorporate some of ACT's goals in their children's programs.

While the group of Boston mothers forced the FTC and FCC to hammer out a compromise for children's television, the networks were formulating their own plans. CBS began to increase the amount of quality children's programming in response to the criticism. CBS featured a children's film festival with international children's shows. Walter Cronkite hosted a Saturday morning program featuring information, education, history and culture. *In the News* ran two-minute news brief spots sandwiched between shows like *Josie and the Pussycats, The Partridge Family: 2200 A.D.*, and *The Monkees*.[45] *CBS* also replaced some three half-hour animated programs with two half-hour live-action musical variety shows and one science fiction program.[46]

ABC aired eight *Afternoon Specials* in 1972. The next year, it aired 12 of the Peabody Award-winning shows. The speicals aired once a month from 4:30 P.M. to 5:"30 P.M. weekdays. The programs were devoted to literature, science, history, current events, the arts, and physical fitness.[47]ABC also bowed to the critics of children's television. The network planned a series of children's specials with fewer commercial interruptions. The number of commercial minutes was reduced from twelve to ten. The specials aired once a month from 4:30 to 5:30 weekdays. These programs were devoted to literature, science, history, current events, the arts, and physical fitness.[48]

ABC also produced a documentary on how children learned words. *Schoolhouse Rock*, short vignettes teaching children multiplication and grammar set to rock music became Saturday and Sunday morning mainstays on the network between the programs in 1972, 1973, and 1974.[49] At the same time, the network rationalized that programs like *Yogi's Gang* educated children on environmental issues and the cartoon *Super Friends* was a comedy adventure where each program was solved with a "prosocial effect."[50]

In December 1971, ABC asked CBS and NBC to overhaul Saturday and Sunday morning advertising before the FTC and ACT did it for them. ABC called for a level playing field in a proposal to the National Association of Broadcasters. The network insisted that cooperation from the other networks and sponsors would be necessary so one network would not be financially disadvantaged. This preemptive strike is illustrative of the NAB's desire to reform television from the inside—outside regulation would limit the broadcasters' autonomy.[51]

NBC responded to pressure from the government and ACT differently that the other networks. In 1972, NBC aired a half-hour of children's programs without commercial. The show would be designed for children aged three to six and be devoted to education and entertainment. One educational program NBC offered was the dinosaur program, *Land of the Lost*. In fact, all three networks used dinosaurs to bring educational value to their Saturday morning line-ups.[52] What separated NBC's attempt from the others is that local broadcasters would have to pay for this commercial free programming with a fee. This "program service charge" was imposed to offset "substantial production costs." Although ACT asked for more cooperation than what all of the networks offered, there were signs of good faith that broadcasters wanted to serve the interests, while they protected themselves from government-imposed regulations.[53]

In January of 1972, the National Association of Broadcasters waged a preemptive strike. The association voted that the broadcasters decrease their commercial programming to prevent the government doing it for them. The NAB amended its TV Code, a guide by which broadcasters operate. The amendment cut the ads by 25 % on the weekends.[54]

The networks had different reaction to the decision. ABC programmers, the originators of the amendment, were pleased with the decision. CBS wanted the commercial cut to be spread over the week, but said it would accommodate itself to the provisions.[55] NBC had numbers to show its displeasure. According to Howard Monderer, an attorney for NBC, the network lost a large amount of its viewing audience and advertisers as a result of the changes made to appease ACT's proposal.[56]

A core of advertising supporters who defended pre-ACT children's television and advertising. A marketing executive for General Foods, a cereal manufacturer, said his company's ads for sweetened cereal help mothers. He said that his ads "bring the child to the breakfast table and encourage him to eat foods. . .Cereals don't taste good by themselves."[57]

James Neal Harvey, President of James Neal Harvey, Inc., an advertising firm, said about ACT, "(s)eldom have so few done so much to confuse so many. And rarely has emotion paid so little mind to fact." He wondered if ACT truly understood the economics of a market that garnered $75 million a year. He expanded his criticism of ACT further by saying that children enjoyed advertising. According to Harvey, children like chewing gum, cereal, and toys. Therefore, they like the advertising for these products.[58]

Charren defended her organization's position. She said that it did not matter whether children liked commercials or not. What did matter is that the commercials were causing problems for the children. First, the foods advertised were sugared snack foods. the cereal advertised was not nutritious. Finally, the toys advertised were usually expensive and poorly made. All of these items were advertised to encourage kids to ask their parents to buy something many families could not afford.

What is made clear in this article is that advertising and programming are tied together. According to Charren, advertisers are not putting commercials on the air to entertain children. Instead, the commercials are designed to market to young eyes. In order to get these young eyes glued to television screens, the programs offered must attract ages two to eleven.

> Not until children's TV is considered public service programming will the producers of children's TV be free to design a diversity of programs to meet the varied needs of the child audience.[59]

Because each program had to meet a wide range of interests, the shows could not offer much depth or mentally stimulating fare for all ages of children.

The controversy of whether children would watch these shows and whether broadcasters would continue to make money made self-regulation of the industry problematic for Charren and ACT. Although the networks consulted with psychologists, created positions for children's programming executives, and cut some advertisements Charren was not completely satisfied.[60] ACT, dubiously awarded the National Association of Broadcasters a marshmallow for "being too squishy to enforce any of its regulations."[61] using stronger language she said that any attempt by the industry to regulate itself was "arrogant and irresponsible."[62]

Broadcasters, Pull Up Your Socks

Although self-regulation was making some changes, it becomes apparent to Charren that the FCC needed to tell the industry to "pull up its socks."[63] By 1974, the FCC received over 100,000 responses to the proceedings held in January 1971. The commission did not hand down specific rules, but it affirmed what Charren and ACT already knew—broadcasters had to serve the interests of children in return for their right to use the airwaves.[64]

On October 24, 1974 the Federal Communications Commission issued its Report and Policy Statement regarding ACT's petition for the elimination of sponsorship and the establishment of weekly 14-Hour Quota of Children's Television Programs. This report stated that the "use of television to further the educational and cultural development of America's children bears a direct relationship to the licensee's obligation under the development under the Communications Act (1934) to operate in the public interest." While the Commission found this obligation important, it did not believe that it was necessary to prescribe the numbers of hours per week broadcasters had to air these programs. Instead, the amount should be "reasonable" and checked on a case-by-case basis.[65]

The report also stated that future license renewal applications should reflect a "reasonable amount" of programming designed to educate children. The FCC lists several ways broadcasters can achieve this requirement without airing "dull classroom" television. The FCC suggests that stations air programs about history, science, literature, the environment, drama, and human relations to further a child's development.[66] The guidelines were as specific as the FCC got to telling the industry what to do.

The FCC turned to the First Amendment in explaining why it did not hand down specific rules. First, the FCC said it constantly walked a tightrope between saying too much and saying too little in applying the public interest standard. The licensee had traditionally had a broad discretion in choosing content to serve the public interest. The commission acknowledged that broadcasters have the [ublic interest obligation, but too many rules could become censorship.[67]

The second area the FCC discussed in the report was the advertising practices on children's programming. Overall, the FCC did not consider most of the advertising issues. Instead, the FCC deferred them to the Federal Trade Commission, the regulatory authority of commercial speech on broadcasting. At the time of the report, the FTC was performing its own inquiry into advertising practices on children's programming. The FCC decided to let the FTC find its own facts using its own expertise.[68]

The FCC did consider some of the advertising issues as they related to the programming of television. First, the FCC found that an excessive amount of advertising would be a factor in considering whether or not a license was meeting the public interest standard. But this requirement could be checked on an ad hoc basis. The report emphasized the broadcasters have to be aware of the "trusting and vulnerable" nature of children.[69]

The FCC also found that the complete elimination of advertising could prove detrimental to all of children's programs. Without advertising revenue these shows would lessen the amount and quality of such programming. Some of the responses to the petition gathered for the 1974 report, suggested alternatives to commercials. Underwriting was one alternative. The technique is a no-frills style of advertising. Instead of a traditional commercial, a business pays to have its service or logo shown. This agreement allows public television stations to pay for their programming. While the FCC said institutional advertising and underwriting could replace product advertising, the commission was doubtful if the alternatives could garner the millions of dollars children's advertising provides.[70]

The Commission applauded the efforts of broadcasters and advertisers to self-regulate. For this reason, the FCC did not make any formal rules requiring broadcasters to curtail advertising time during children's programs. The Commission did leave open the opportunity to issue regulations once they could assess the effectiveness of self-regulation.[71]

The FCC commissioners hoped the industry's responsiveness would provide quality children's programming. Broadcasters who were not airing any children's programming were encouraged to follow the leads of those that were and follow the loose guidelines in the report. These stations had until January 1, 1976 to provide a diversity of programs to children.[72]

Several members of the broadcast industry supported the policy statement. ABC's vice president for children's programming Squire Rushnell agreed with the statement. He said the industry could not be solely responsible for what children watched. Advertisers, parent, and educators had a responsibility as well.[73]

After four years, the FCC, in effect, emphasized what was always the fundamental rule of broadcasting; licensees must serve the public interest. This report was the first time, however, where the FCC discussed children specifically as an audience worthy of protecting. This was also the first time a citizen's group had such a great impact of broadcasting standards.[74]

Shortly after the 1974 report, ACT expressed its displeasure with the suggestions issued by the FCC. ACT looked more favorably on the concurrence to the opinion written by Commissioner Benjamin Hooks.[75] Although Hooks agreed with the overall findings of the FCC, he thought more needed to be done. Hooks pointed out that the FCC economist proved that six commercial minutes an hour would not affect the profitability of broadcasters or their ability to meet program requirements.[76] Hooks's opinion, while only concurring with the commission and not authoritative, because it was not a part of the FCC's majority ruling, acknowledged the need for concrete rules ACT requested in its 1971 petition.

The 1974 statement left broadcasters to decide what was suitable quality children's television. Charren was skeptical of self-regulation. Those who advertise with impunity could obliterate those making a good faith effort to meet the requirements. Charren wanted a rule from the commission. According to Charren "(v)oluntary action will happen only while the industry is under fire.[77] However, Charren did say that the statement was better that nothing.[78]

Nearly 25 years later, Charren does not look at the 1974 Report and Policy Statement as a failure, even though it did not deliver all that ACT hoped it would. Charren looks at the statement as being revolutionary.

> (I)t was extraordinary in the history of broadcasting in America. It said broadcasters have to serve children with a diversity of programming. In a way, it was what we were trying to get the FCC to say. We didn't thin we needed rules. We thought the law saying the public interest was enough of a law.[79]

Charren has since apologized to Richard Wiley, the FCC Chairman when the 1974 report was handed down. She was sorry for "screaming so loud and long about how the FCC did not do enough and it hadn't done its job. She said that the ruckus over statement was beginning to make the report "look like the Magna Carta."[80]

Charrren continued working for better children's programming, crusading between the years of 1974 and 1992. ACT continued to lobby the FCC until the mid-1980s. When it became apparent that the FCC would not receive ACT, Charren took her group to the United States Congress. She convinced Congress that self-regulation was going to be a detriment to children's programming.

She's not Kissinger, Just a grandma.

History shows that Charren was right. Self-regulation did not work for children's broadcasting. Children's programs began to revert to violent cartoons that were no more than program length commercials. For the next 18 years some broadcasters waffled on the educational requirements of the shows. In 1992, a station cited the educational value of Santa Claus is Coming to Town as "answering the mysteries, myths, and questions surrounding the legend Santa Claus."[81] It was not until the Children's Television Act of 1990 that commercials were limited on children's programs.[82] Further, it was not until 1997, when President Clinton and broadcasters developed a minimum three-hour quota on children's programming.

Many give Charren credit for being the mother of the 1990 Children's Television Act. She thinks of herself as the grandmother—because it took so long.[83] Congressman Edward Markey, the driving force behind legislation of the Children's Television Act of 1990, calls Charren the Michael Jordan of children's television. William Kennard, the current FCC chairman said there would be not Children's Television Act if not had been for Charren. He went on to say that Charren is a legend in television history.[84]

Charren does not see herself as a legend. She is not, as she says, Kissinger, but a grandma[85]. She is a woman who believes that active citizens and the democratic process can change government. As her tireless efforts with ACT show, people can make a difference in the lives of many if they approach their work with vigor, tenacity, and humor.

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[1] Kelly, K. "Jr. Season Opens." Time. September 20, 1971, 20. a study commissioned by ACT determined that more that half of all children's concerned crime, supernatural situations or characters in strife.

[2] Davis, Jeffery. Children's Television, 1947-1990. North Carolina: McFarland, 1995.

[3] "TV's Saturday Gold mine." Business Week. Aug 2, 1969, 96.

[4] "Video Boy." Time. January 26, 1968, 54.

[5] TV's Saturday Gold mine." Business Week. Aug 2, 1969, 96.

[6] "Kids Turning on: Theories of S. Hayakawa." Time. September 13, 1968, 96.

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[13] Personal interview with Peggy Charren. October 19, 1998.

[14] Ibid.

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[19] Ibid.

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[21] Ibid. Action for Children's Television disbanded in 1992.

[22] O'Dell, p. 55.

[23] Milton, John. This was part of the speech memorized by the young Peggy Charren.

[24] 47 U. S. C.§ 303.

[25] Personal Interview with Peggy Charren, October 19, 1998.

[26] Ferretti, Fred. "Women's Group Urges Network to Take Ads off Children's TV." The New York Times, January 7, 1970.

[27] Ferretti, Fred. "Women's group Urges Network to Take Ads off Children's TV." The New York Times, January 7, 1970, 87. By this time Charren was the chairman of ACT and Sarson was the president and director of the organization.

[28] Barcus, Francis E. Children's Television. New York: Praeger, 1977. This book is a compilation of studies sponsored by Action for Children's Television.

[29] Ibid.

[30] "Children's Boon for Adults: CBS Children's Drama." Time, December 12, 1969, 76.

[31] Ferretti, 87..

[32] "Children's Boon for Adults.", 76.

[33] Ferretti, 87.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Personal InterviewCharren cautions that today, calling the chairman of the FCC and receiving a meeting would be impossible.

[36] 28 FCC 2d 368. Act for Rulemaking Looking toward the Elimination of Sponsorship and Commercial Content in Children's Programming and the Establishment of a Weekly 14-Hour Quota of Children's Television Programs. The age specifications were ages 2-5 7a.m.-6 p.m. daily, 7 a.m. –6p.m. weekends; ages 6-9 4p.m.-8 p.m. daily, 8 a.m.-8 p.m. weekends; ages 10-12 5 p.m. –9p.m. daily, 9 a.m.-9 p.m. weekends.

[37] 47 U.S.C.§326.

[38] 28 F.C.C.2d 368, 369.

[39] Personal Interview, October 19, 1998.

[40] 28 FCC 2d 368, 370.

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[49] "Children's TV Back to a Boil among Meduims Priorities," 20.
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[54] "NAB TV Board Votes a 25% Cut in Ads for Children." The New York Times, January 22, 1972, 59.
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[58] Harvey, James N. "In Defense of Children's TV." New York Times. January 14, 1973., 15.
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[60] "Activist See Gains on Children's TV Programming." The New York Times. October 19, 1974, 63.
[61] "ACT's Bent Antenna Awards." The New York Times. July 22, 1973, II 1. These awards were given to those who were the least responsive to children's television needs. The group also awarded a year of dental bills to manufacturers of candy and snacks advertised to children on TV.
[62] Dougherty, Phillip H. "Advertising: Research Groups." The New York Times. May 22, 1974, 65.
[63] Personal Interview with Peggy Charren. October 19, 1998.
[64] Burnham, David. FCC Approves Policy on Children's TV." The New York Times. October 25, 1974,1.
[65] 50 FCC 2d 1, 1974.
[66] 50 FCC 2d 7, 1974.
[67] Ibid.
[68] 50 FCC 2d 9, 1974.
[69] 50 FCC 2d 10, 1974.
[70] 50 FCC 2d 11, 1974. Underwriting is one way public television stations earn money for their programming. Instead of a traditional commercial, a business pays to have its service or logo shown. This technique is no frills style of advertising.
[71] 50 FCC 2d 13, 1974
[72] 50 FCC 2d 14, 1974.
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